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THE

HISTORY OF BRAZIL.

VOL. I.

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Evaristo Ferreira da Veiga.

THE

HISTORY OF BRAZIL,

FROM THE PERIOD OF

THE ARRIVAL OF THE BRAGANZA FAMILY IN 1808,

TO

THE ABDICATION OF DON PEDRO THE FIRST IN 1831.

COMPILED FROM

State Documents and other Original Sources.

FORMING

A CONTINUATION TO SOUTHEY'S HISTORY OF THAT COUNTRY.

BY JOHN ARMITAGE, Esq.

" It is thus that Legislation and Politics become gradually regarded as experimental sciences; and history, not as formerly, the mere record of tyrannies and slaughters, which, by immortalizing the execrable actions of one age, perpetuates the ambition of committing them in every succeeding one, but as the archive of experiments, successful and unsuccessful, gradually accumulating towards the solution of the grand problem—how the advantages of government are to be secured with the least possible inconvenience to the governed." HERSCHEL.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL I.

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TO

MARK PHILIPS, ESQ., M.P.,

AN ENLIGHTENED BRAZILIAN MERCHANT,

AND

AN ARDENT AND ZEALOUS FRIEND TO THE PROGRESS
OF HUMAN INTELLIGENCE

IN EVERY COUNTRY,

THESE VOLUMES

ARE, WITH PERMISSION, INSCRIBED,

BY THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

PERHAPS there is no country with which the relations of Great Britain are so extensive, and yet of which she at the same time knows so little as the Empire of Brazil. The want of even any ordinary means of reference regarding the financial and political affairs of the country, was so sensibly felt by the Author, during the period of a long residence there, that he was induced to enter upon the following history, chiefly, from a consideration of the advantages which a perfect acquaintance with the facts noted herein, might give him, in a commercial point of view. As he proceeded in his task, he however became animated by higher motives; for not only was it interesting to him to trace the gradual progress of a people from rudeness to comparative civilization, but he also felt, with the author whom he has quoted on the title page, that history can no longer be regarded as "the mere

record of tyrannies and slaughters, but rather as the "archive of experiments, tending to show how the advantages of Government can best be secured to the governed."

During the execution of the work, he has had opportunities of associating with some of the most eminent political characters in Brazil: he has had access to documents and stores of information open but to few; and he has also had occasion to visit the seat of the Cisplatine war, and thus been enabled to estimate the manners and character of the wild inhabitants of that district, from personal observation. Whether or not he has turned these advantages to good account, it is for the public to decide.

He is quite willing to concede that the circumstance of his having been a foreigner in Brazil, may occasionally have proved an obstacle to his entering fully into the spirit of his theme; yet he hopes it will be borne in mind that this circumstance also has had a tendency to prevent his being unduly biassed in behalf of any faction. Perhaps contemporary history can in some instances be best written by a foreigner, since he can associate with, and enter into the feelings of all parties without partaking their passions.

Rio de Janeiro, July 1, 1835.

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ERRATA IN VOL. I.

Page 4, line 13, *for* statutes, *read* code.
8, — 15, *for* its, *read* their.
30, — 30, *for* deliberate, *read* deliberative.
38, — 10, *for* revolt, *read* massacre.
86, — 12, *for* allies, *read* sallies.
124, — 8, *for* from the Emperor, *read* for the Emperor.
150, — 25, *for* session, *read* sessions.
169, — 20, *for* 1834, *read* 1824.
191, — 18, *for* was also the, *read* was the.
194, — 27, *for* he, *read* she.

THE

HISTORY OF BRAZIL.

CHAPTER I.

Jealousy of Portugal relative to Brazil — Component parts of the Administration — Code of laws — Municipalities — Military force — Orders of Knighthood—Appropriation of tithes by the Crown, and its results on the condition of the Clergy — Prohibition of the law of Entail, and of Manufactures — Population — General character of the inhabitants—Education—Effects of the independence of the United States of North America—Sedition in Villa Rica — Execution of Tiradentes—Subsequent conspiracy in 1801—Effects of the French revolution — Arrival of the Royal Family in Brazil — Formation of the Bank, and other public institutions — Results of the late changes—Depravity of the Court — Conspiracy and revolt in Pernambuco, in 1817 — Death of the Dowager Queen of Portugal, and marriage of Don Pedro.—Auxiliary troops from Portugal — Systematic exclusion of native Brazilians from commands in the army — Official journalism — Arrival of the intelligence of the revolt in Portugal in 1820.

In order to form a correct appreciation of the various political changes in Brazil, since the period when Mr. Southey concludes his history of that country, it will be necessary, in the first instance, to pass in review the component parts of the administration under the absolute system.

For more than three centuries one of the most beautiful and fertile regions of the globe, was by the policy of Portugal restricted from all intercourse, or commerce, with the other nations of Europe; and even the residence, or admission of foreigners was equally prohibited. The vessels of the allies of the mother country were occasionally permitted to anchor in its ports, but neither passengers nor crew were allowed to land, excepting under the superintendence of a guard of soldiers. The result of these restraints naturally was, that but little more was known respecting the institutions of the colony, than what the mother country chose to communicate; and as most of these accounts were more or less disfigured by party feeling, it is presumed that an exposition which of itself would excite but little interest, but which will materially tend to the elucidation of many passages of the succeeding history, may not be deemed an useless introduction.

Previously to the year 1808, though the Viceroy resident in Rio de Janeiro was nominally the highest functionary of the government, yet this personage was in reality invested with but little political power, except in the province of Rio, where alone he acted as Captain-general: the virtual administration of the colony being entrusted chiefly to similar officers, one of whom was appointed to each province. They were

nominated for three years only, and received their instructions from the Court of Lisbon, to which they were compelled to render an account of their proceedings. They were not only prohibited from marrying within the sphere of their jurisdiction, but also from the transaction of any commercial pursuits; as well as from accepting any present, or emolument, in addition to the stipend allotted them by the government. For the management and application of the public finances, bodies were appointed denominated "Juntas de Fazenda," Juntas of Finance; of which the Captains-general of the respective provinces were the Presidents.

The highest functions of the judicial power were confided to a Court of appeal, composed of Desembargadores, or Chief Judges; to whom succeeded the Ouvidores, or itinerant Judges, who were under the obligation of making an annual circuit to the districts committed to their charge, for the purpose of passing judgment in criminal cases. For the adjudication of certain causes, Judges, termed "Juizes de fora," who were selected from amongst such as had taken their degree in Coimbra, as bachelors of law, were appointed; who, as well as the officers of the higher tribunals, were all nominated by the Court of Portugal. In the less populous, and inferior districts, "Juizes ordinarios," with the same attributes as the "Juizes de fora,"

were also occasionally elected by the votes of individuals, denominated "Bons de povo;" the qualification for which title was, to have held office in the municipalities. From the sentence of these "Juizes," appeal could be made to the court of Desembargadores in Rio, and from this again ultimately to the "Desembargo do Paço" in Lisbon. Unless, however, the appellant were possessed either of great interest at Court, or in default of it could bribe higher than his antagonist, these final appeals were seldom of any real utility.

The Statutes on which the decisions of the judicial power were founded, was the Portuguese Code framed during the reigns of the two Philips, and entitled "Ordinacoens do Reino;" to which were appended all the "Cartas de Lei," and decrees issued since the accession of the House of Braganza: forming altogether about nine volumes. Though in ordinary cases the decisions of both civil and criminal causes was left exclusively to the judicial authorities, the mandate of the Captains-general was at any time sufficient either to suspend, or set aside the ordinary operations of the law.

The Municipalities were close corporations, formed on the model of those of Portugal; where those bodies had formerly been entrusted with the nomination of deputies to the supreme Cortes: though this, as well as many other im-

portant privileges, had latterly fallen into disuetude. On occasions of public ceremony, the national banner was still carried in their processions, and they were still recognized, in appearance at least, as the representatives of the people. In Brazil also, their power was once considerable; and instances have occurred of the deposition of the Captains-general by the Municipalities, and of this exercise of authority having been sanctioned by the entire approbation of the government at Lisbon; though towards the end of the last century, their powers had been restricted almost exclusively to the improvement of roads, the construction of bridges, the control of the markets, and other objects of minor importance. Their executive officers, who were entitled "Juizes Almotaceis," were nominated by the Municipalities themselves, every three months; and were charged with the power of exacting fines, and enforcing imprisonment, according to certain established regulations.

The regular troops were recruited according to the direction, and placed entirely at the disposition, of the Captains-general; but the officers were nominated by the Court of Lisbon. The militia, or troops of the second line, were enlisted by the officers of each respective corps, and the officers themselves were also appointed in Lisbon, at the proposition of the Captains-

general. Though serving gratuitously, this latter force was often employed in very laborious and odious services; and its members, as well as the regular troops, were amenable to martial law, in all matters relative to their military duty. In addition to the preceding, were the "Ordenanças," or troops of the third line; who, by the regulations of their institution, ought to have been composed exclusively of such individuals as were incapacitated by physical defects, or otherwise, from serving in the militia. Their duty was to defend the country in cases of emergency; but this service was merely nominal, and by a perversion of the real objects of the institution, it became customary for all possessed of sufficient patronage to obtain a post in the Ordenanças, for the express object of avoiding enrolment in the militia. The Fidalgos, or Portuguese noblemen of the first rank, were exempt from personal service altogether.

The Orders of Knighthood were those of Santo Iago, San Bento de Aviz, and the Order of Christ; of all of which the Sovereigns of Portugal were the Grand Masters, and perpetual administrators. Amongst other privileges appertaining to the office of Grand Master of the Order of Christ, a Pontifical bull had conferred that of an entire ecclesiastical jurisdiction over all ultra-marine conquests; and by virtue of this title, the crown of Portugal, shortly after the

discovery of Brazil, appropriated to its own use all the tithes levied in this country; with, however, a proviso, binding the Monarch to provide for the celebration of public worship, and to pay a stipulated sum for the adequate maintenance of the various Clergy. By the same authority the presentation of ecclesiastical benefices was also constituted one of the exclusive privileges of Royalty; though the proposition of candidates was subsequently delegated to the Bishops, with an injunction that the natives of the respective captaincies, and more especially the descendants of the ancient nobility, who were among the first emigrants to Brazil, should on all occasions be preferred; the right of presentation being still restricted to the Sovereign. The stipulations made for the maintenance of the established Religion, and the due support of the clergy, were nevertheless but very imperfectly complied with. Many Priests came to be dependent on the mere fees of their office for subsistence; and the stipend paid to the highest dignitaries of the Church was but trifling, when compared with what would have accrued to them, had they been allowed to retain possession of the tithes. The revenue of the Archbishop of Bahia, the head functionary of the Brazilian Church, never amounted to more than ten contos of rees per annum; at par, 2,812*l.* 10*s.* sterling; nor was

the Bishopric of Rio de Janeiro, embracing within its limits the provinces of Rio Grande, Espirito Santo, and Santa Catherina, ever worth to its incumbent more than six contos of rees, or 1,687*l.* 10*s.* per annum. These peculiarities in the condition of the Clergy are, perhaps, worthy of more particular note than the circumstances of any other class, since they will be found to have exercised a most important influence during the period of the subsequent revolution.

The jealousy of the Portuguese government constantly led them to dread the growth of every power, or corporation, which might hereafter militate against the exercise of its authority; and on this account, not only were the civil and ecclesiastical functionaries brought more immediately under control than in the mother country, but even the increase of capitalists and large proprietors was systematically prevented. The entailment of landed property could be effected only by virtue of an express permission from the Sovereign; and all manufactures, excepting the preparation of sugar, were most rigidly prohibited.

At the close of the last century, the population might be estimated at about three millions, six hundred thousands; of whom, about two-fifths were negro slaves. The majority of the free population were also a mixed race, derived

jointly from African, Indian, and European origin; the white inhabitants being the only class as yet entrusted with political power. In the ideas and manners of a people comprising so many different castes, it is evident there could be but very little similarity; still their more general characteristics were in every respect such as might be anticipated from the nature of their institutions. Provided for by the labour of slaves, inhabitants of a climate where the productions of the earth are almost spontaneous, and devoid alike of the stimulus and the instruction, which must have resulted from a more unrestricted communication with foreigners, they were for the most part an indolent and apathetic race.

Education had as yet made little progress among them; even the knowledge of the ecclesiastics was in most instances confined to a little bad Latin; and the happy individual who possessed some acquaintance with both Latin and French, was regarded as so transcendant a genius, that people came from miles distant to consult him. Political science was completely in its infancy, with nearly all the inhabitants of Brazil. The histories of Greece and Rome, the "Contrat Social" of Rousseau, and such few stray volumes of the writings of Voltaire and the Abbé Raynal as had escaped the vigilance of the authorities, were hitherto their only

sources of information; and there was neither a Printing press, nor an University in all Brazil. During the Vice-royalty of the Count de Rezende, from 1790 to 1801, an attempt was made to establish a literary academy at Rio de Janeiro, but its members were subjected to so much political persecution, that they were compelled to break up the association in its commencement.

On the establishment of the independence of the United States of North America, a vague aspiration for the similar enfranchisement of Brazil was undoubtedly cherished there; but this feeling was long limited exclusively to such individuals as had become aware of the existing state of other countries; and such was the absence of all the elements of sociability, that public opinion could not at this period be said to have any existence.

During the year 1789 a conspiracy was formed by a few influential individuals in Villa Rica, not so much, however, with the design of proclaiming an independent republic, as from a desire to ascertain what co-operation they were likely to meet with, in case that step should subsequently be adopted. From a diminution in the product of the gold mines in this district, several of the individuals working them were in considerable arrear for taxes. These arrears, the government in Lisbon had ordered

to be paid up, with but little regard to the practicability of the demand. Much irritation had in consequence been excited, and a military officer, of the name of Joaquim Jozé da Silva Xavier, commonly termed "Tiradentes," or the tooth drawer, was sent off by the conspirators for the purpose of ascertaining the disposition of the inhabitants of Rio de Janeiro. Here the imprudence of Tiradentes led to an immediate discovery of the association, the members of which were forthwith arrested. Altogether, however, their number did not amount to forty; yet, though but little could be urged in evidence against them, they were all sentenced either to death, banishment, or the galleys, according to the different degrees of their supposed guilt. These sentences were, nevertheless, mitigated in favour of all except the unfortunate Tiradentes; who, though but an instrument in the hands of others, was, after the lapse of two years, condemned to be hanged, decapitated, and quartered. By the same sentence it was among other ignominious provisions enacted, that his head should be exposed in the public square in Villa Rica, his house razed to the ground, and his children and grand-children declared infamous.

A conspiracy, originating exclusively among the people of colour, was also organized in Bahia during the year 1801, but like the former

it was discovered before any attempt had been made to carry it into execution. The communication between the different provinces was neither sufficient to facilitate a general revolt, nor indeed were the free population disposed to it. Their condition, as contrasted with that which is the result of European civilization, was wretched, yet the tyranny exercised over them was of a negative rather than of a positive character. Their wants were few, and from the almost total absence of either nobility, large proprietors, or powerful ecclesiastical dignitaries, there was an equality throughout their entire association, which prevented their being sensible of any undue privations. Could they have been exempted from all extraneous impulse, ages might have rolled away, and Brazil have been known to Europe only as the colossal yet submissive and unaspiring dependency of Portugal. But events were occurring elsewhere about the close of the eighteenth century, the effects of which were fated to extend their influence to the very ends of the earth. The young republic of France emerged from amid the storms of the revolution, and the crowned heads of all the surrounding states entered into one mighty coalition to crush the intruder. In this attempt their efforts were partially successful; yet their aggressive policy was ere long followed up by a fearful and overwhelming

counteraction. They raised up a spirit which they afterwards in vain attempted to exorcise. They called forth a conqueror who for a while scattered all their armaments before him, and who burst and rivetted at will the manacles of many nations. The results of his victories were not bounded by the hemisphere wherein they were achieved. They gave birth to the immediate independence of all the Spanish colonies in South America, and by compelling the Royal family of Portugal to seek refuge in Brazil, they created, as it were, a new era in her history.

The Portuguese fleet, consisting of eight ships of the line, four frigates, twelve brigs, and a number of merchantmen, sailed from the Tagus on the 29th of November, 1807, in company with an English squadron under the command of Admiral Sir Sidney Smith. During the voyage the vessels were dispersed by a tempest which compelled the greater part to put into Bahia; whence they proceeded to Rio de Janeiro, where the Royal family arrived on the 7th of March, 1808. By a decree dated the 28th of January, the ports of Brazil had already been thrown open to foreign vessels, and on the 21st of October in the same year, a National bank was established in Rio de Janeiro. Supreme tribunals for the affairs of finance and justice were immediately created; a decree was issued permitting the free exercise of all kinds of industry; a number of minor

corporations for the regulation of commerce, and other similar objects were instituted; and finally, a Printing press, denominated a Royal one, was established. A military academy, and a medical school were also founded; the Royal library, containing sixty thousand volumes, was thrown open to the public; and, on the overthrow of Napoleon, a National Institute was formed from among a number of literary and scientific characters, who were for the most part engaged in France, through the influence of the Count de Barca, at that time Minister.

From nearly all these measures, and more particularly from the opening of the ports, important advantages resulted to Brazil. The produce of the country rose in price, while the prices of all foreign articles of merchandize fell; the tyranny of the Captains-general was considerably modified by the institution of additional tribunals; and civilization and the arts received an important impulse from the free admission of strangers, who came in crowds for the purpose of fixing their residence on the shores of the modern El Dorado.

Concurrent with these advantages, however, there were nevertheless many evils. A swarm of needy and unprincipled adventurers had come over with the Royal family, and for these it became necessary to provide in the different branches of the administration. A feeling of

rivalry had always prevailed between the Portuguese and the native Brazilians, and this proceeding on the part of the government naturally tended to augment it. The new comers were but little interested in the welfare of the country. They regarded their absence from Portugal as temporary, and were far more anxious to enrich themselves at the expense of the state, than to administer justice, or to benefit the public. The extravagance and prodigality of the Court were at the same time notorious. While the "Uxaria," or domestic establishment of the Royal family alone consumed six millions of cruzades, amounting to about 540,000*l.* sterling annually, and its expenses were punctually paid, the public servants were frequently left nine and even twelve months in arrear; and many were thus necessarily compelled to depend upon fraud for subsistence.

Nor were these the only evils superinduced by the presence of the Court. From a naturally obliging disposition, the Regent Don John was anxious that no service rendered either to himself, or to the state, should pass unrewarded; and being straitened in pecuniary matters, he had, from a want of other means, recourse to an unexampled distribution of titulary honours. To such an excess was this liberality carried, that during the period of his administration, he conceded more honorary insignia, than all the

preceding Monarchs of the House of Braganza conjointly. On his first arrival in Rio de Janeiro, the chief merchants and landed proprietors had given up their houses for the accommodation of the Royal suite; they had neglected and sacrificed their private interests from a wish to do honour to their distinguished guests; and, as far as their limited means would allow them, had come forward with largesses of money. In recompense for which services, they were decorated with the various honorary Orders originally instituted during the times of chivalry. Individuals who had never buckled on a spur, were dubbed Knights; while others in utter ignorance of even the primary doctrines of their missals, were created "Commendadores" of the Order of Christ.

Amongst a people who as yet regarded their ancient institutions with veneration, the excitement created by this distribution of honours could not but be great. Until the arrival of the Monarch, titulary distinctions were almost unknown, and appear to have been valued in proportion to their scarcity. On being now thrown open, as it were, to all, they became the great objects of competition among the aspiring; and there was, very soon, no species of petty tyranny which was not put into active force, nor any degradation which was not cheerfully submitted to, when the object in view was that of

obtaining some of these high emanations of Court favour. In most instances the applicants were successful, and the gratification of their hopes was in every instance accompanied by an instantaneous change in their style of living. Knights could no longer descend to the drudgeries of commercial life, but were compelled to live either on the resources already acquired; or in default of those, to solicit for employment under the government. Here, however, the difficulties were much greater than in the first instance; the competition being increased by the numerous emigrants from the mother country; and when all obstacles had been surmounted, the emoluments attached to public offices were too limited to permit of much extravagance on the part of the holders. Opportunities were, nevertheless, continually occurring for the sale of favours and dispensations; and the venality of the Brazilians in office was, ere long, fully on a par with that of their Portuguese colleagues.

The morals of the Court were also at the very lowest ebb. The private character of the Regent was unimpeachable; but the infidelities of his consort were so notorious, that her Royal spouse lived apart from her in consequence.

Extension of commerce, in the meantime, contributed to bring extension of knowledge regarding the actual condition of distant coun-

tries; and much dissatisfaction was excited against the government, particularly in the northern provinces; which, while reaping comparatively few of the advantages conferred on the metropolis by the arrival of the Royal family, were yet subjected to their full share of the additional burthens. The result was the secret organization, in 1814, of a democratical association in Pernambuco, with the express object of forming a republican government. In the ideas of the conspirators, there was doubtless much exaggeration: but with North America on the one hand, and the colonies of Spain already engaged in the struggle for their independence on the other, it was perhaps no more than natural. Few, and least of all the uninstructed, can form a due estimate of their own deficiencies. The consciousness of increasing discontent, and a fear lest Brazil should follow the example of her Spanish neighbours, meanwhile induced the Prince Regent, during the following year, to elevate this immense territory to the degree of a constituent part of Portugal and Algarve; a concession, which, had the object of the conspirators in Pernambuco been solely that of throwing off the European yoke, might alone have put a check to their proceedings. They were, however, equally bent on the adoption of representative institutions, and were proceeding in the development of their plans of insurrection, when

early in 1817, they were betrayed to the government. Being thus compelled to take up arms prematurely, they were but ill prepared to resist the disciplined troops despatched against them from Bahia, by the Count dos Arcos. After a number of indecisive skirmishes, they were finally defeated on the 16th of May, on the plains of Ipojuco. Domingues José Martins, their General, was shortly afterwards executed, with a number of his colleagues, and the remaining leaders were either exiled, or thrown into prison.

During the course of these events, several changes took place within the bosom of the Royal family. The dowager Queen of Portugal, who had long been in a state of mental imbecility, died on the 20th of March, 1816, and the Regent succeeded to the throne by the title of Don John VI. A marriage was also negotiated during the same year, between Don Pedro, the heir apparent to the crown, and the Archduchess Leopoldina Carolina Josepha, daughter of the Emperor of Austria; and on the 5th of November, 1817, the vessel bearing the future Empress arrived in the harbour of Rio de Janeiro.

During the three succeeding years, which were undistinguished by any events worthy of record, there was perfect tranquillity. On the occasion of the revolt in Pernambuco, a body of

troops, which took the name of the auxiliary division, had been brought over from Portugal. In its ranks were comprised four battalions of infantry of the line, a battalion of light infantry, and a brigade of artillery. Of these a battalion of infantry was quartered in Pernambuco, another in Bahia, and the remainder were retained in Rio de Janeiro. From this period, the Brazilian troops were treated with but little consideration. The Portuguese general, Vicente Antonio de Oliveira, in an address to the King, formally requested that all Brazilians should for the future be declared incompetent to the fulfilment of any higher post than that of captain. The requisition was of course treated with inattention, yet all the highest ranks in the army were thenceforward conferred almost exclusively on the Portuguese. The seeds of discontent were thus disseminated by the very means intended for its suppression; and murmurs were excited, which, however, as yet found no echo; the only printing press hitherto permitted in Rio, the Royal one, being under the immediate censorship of the authorities. Through its medium, the public were duly and faithfully informed, concerning the health of all the Princes in Europe. Official edicts, birth-day odes, and panegyrics on the reigning family, also from time to time illumined its pages; which were unsullied either by the ebullitions

of democracy, or the exposure of grievances. To have judged of Brazil by its only journal, it must certainly have been deemed a terrestrial paradise, where no word of complaint had ever yet found utterance.

Such was the existing state of affairs in the newly created kingdom, when, in October 1820, intelligence arrived of the revolt in Portugal, in favour of a Constitutional government.

CHAPTER II.

Insurrection, and subsequent convocation of the Cortes in Portugal — Manifesto to the Portuguese nation — Declaration of Para, Madeira, Bahia and Monte Video, in favour of the Constitution—Disorders in Pernambuco — Measures adopted by the government in Rio de Janeiro — Acceptance of the Portuguese Constitution — Resolution of Don John to return to Portugal — Elections — Effects of the late changes on the disposition of the native inhabitants of Rio—Meeting, and subsequent massacre in the Exchange—Impatience of Don Pedro to assume the regency — Nullification of the acts of the 21st of April — Change of ministry — Predictions of the counsellors of Don John VI. — Departure of the King, and his parting charge to Don Pedro.

The commerce of Portugal had suffered severely by the opening of the ports of Brazil in 1810, and the jealousy of her inhabitants had since been roused by the elevation of their former colony to the rank of a kingdom. They were, moreover, becoming impatient of a despotism unsupported by the pomp of Royalty; and now, on the conclusion of the war in Europe, when even Spain and Italy attempted to organize Constitutional governments, Portugal, stimulated by example, also rose and demanded the convocation of Cortes for the formation of a Constitutional charter. As early as the eleventh

century, there had existed in Portugal "States General," or Cortes, composed jointly of the Clergy, the Nobility, and the Deputies of the principal towns. More than a hundred years had elapsed since the last assembly of this body had been held, but its existence had never been formally abolished. The present convocation was thus regarded rather as the resumption of an ancient, though long-neglected right, than as an innovation, and was hailed with universal rejoicing among a people singularly attached to their old institutions. The first insurrectionary movement took place in Oporto, on the 24th of August, 1820, and was immediately abetted by the military. Lisbon manifested similar sentiments on the 15th of September following, and a general session of the Cortes was finally held in Lisbon, in the month of January, 1821. Here one of their first acts was to publish a manifesto, formally addressed to the Portuguese nation, wherein, adverting to the present retrograde situation of Portugal, all their chief misfortunes were traced jointly to the residence of the Royal family, and the Court in Rio de Janeiro, and to the enactment opening the ports of Brazil to the vessels of all nations: the latter measure being more particularly deprecated, as the cause of an almost entire extinction of both the manufactures and commerce of Portugal.

Intelligence of the primary movements in

Oporto and Lisbon, in the meantime, reached the ultra-marine dominions, where they produced a powerful sensation. The troops stationed in Para, as well as the inhabitants, declared for the popular cause; and the island of Madeira, the city of Bahia, and the garrison stationed in Monte Video, speedily followed their example. In Pernambuco alone the military kept aloof from the people. This province had, ever since its subjugation in 1817, been confided to the government of Luiz de Rego Barreto, a military officer, who, being furnished with full powers for the suppression of any future attempts at revolt, had sometimes availed himself of them with extreme severity. This rigorous line of conduct naturally led to much discontent, and on the arrival of the intelligence of the late events in Portugal, a considerable number of the inhabitants of the province assembled in a small town situated about thirty-six leagues from the capital, and declared, that unless a Constitutional system of government were adopted, and their grievances redressed, they would no longer acknowledge subjection to the Court of Rio. The Royal troops were, however, sent out against them, and after a sharp conflict, the insurgents, who were but indifferently organized, were obliged to disperse.

In Rio de Janeiro, where the authority of the government was more complete, and where

there were fewer abuses, the effects of popular opinion were manifested with less energy. All classes, and more particularly the native Portuguese, were nevertheless loud in their expressions of sympathy with the inhabitants of the peninsula; and in order to prevent any untimely explosion, a Council of state, at the head of which was the Marquis de Alegrete, a nobleman of little talent, and less education, was convened by the government, for the purpose of deciding on the most advisable measures. After an interval of anxious uncertainty, a Manifesto dated the 18th of February, 1821, was made public on the 21st of the same month, wherein his Majesty announced his intention of sending Don Pedro to Portugal, with full powers to treat with the Cortes, and to consult with them concerning the Constitution. It was also promised to adopt in Brazil all such parts of the Constitution agreed upon, as might be found applicable and expedient.

The effect produced by this declaration proved very different from what was anticipated. The intimation of his Majesty announced an intention to modify the Constitution previously to its adoption in Brazil; and to this, both the Portuguese and Brazilians were alike opposed. Though without any very clear perceptions on the point, both were eager for the extension of the sphere of their personal liberties, and on the

morning of the 26th of February, the auxiliary division of Portuguese military, who were, in particular, determined to have their full share of the benefits which the newly established system was expected to shower down on their comrades in the mother country, marched in a body to the Largo de Rocio, a large square near the centre of the city, for the purpose of explicitly demanding that the Constitution of Portugal should, when promulgated, be adopted in Brazil. A number of citizens connected with the movement, also convoked a meeting in the saloon of the Theatre adjoining, where they were shortly joined by the Princes, Don Pedro and Don Miguel, who were hailed on arrival with cries of "Viva el Rey!" — "Viva a Constituição!"

Here, after the representation of the insurgents had been laid before the Prince royal, Don Pedro, the Municipality of the city was summoned, and his Highness coming forward on the verandah of the Theatre, read to the people and troops assembled in the square below, a decree, whereby an unreserved acceptance was given by the Monarch to the future Constitution of the Cortes. The two Princes afterwards made oath, both in the name of the King, and their own, to observe and fulfil the dictates of this Constitution. On the conclusion of which ceremony, the nomination of a new Ministry was also

insisted on, and this demand was also conceded.

The joy resulting from these concessions was excessive. An immense crowd marched on to San Christovão, the country seat of the King, and insisted on dragging his carriage to the city, an honour with which Don John would gladly have dispensed. Unaccustomed to the unrestrained exhibition of popular feeling, he had, from the period when he received intelligence of the revolution in the mother country, been a prey to continual terrors. The only burthen of his conversation was the fate of Louis XVI; and on the present occasion, when the populace took the horses from his carriage, such was his trepidation, that he swooned away. On his arrival in the city, he, however, instantly ratified the oath already made by the Princes; when all the public functionaries, and other individuals of note in Rio de Janeiro, subsequently followed the example of the Royal family: and thus the Constitution, the basis of which had not even been projected, was universally sworn to. Public festivities were in consequence resolved upon, and the city was illuminated for nine successive evenings.

Before many more days had elapsed, the celebrated Manifesto issued by the Cortes of Lisbon was received; a document which, while

productive of the most serious apprehensions to the Brazilians, was yet greeted with still increasing satisfaction by the Portuguese. This latter class had long beheld with jealousy the gradual extension of foreign commerce, whilst that of Portugal was day by day diminishing. This result, which, doubtless, arose principally from the progress which all other nations were making in the manufacturing arts, while Portugal remained inactive, they regarded as the natural consequence of a free trade; and they entertained hopes that, by placing Brazil under the authority of the Cortes, and compelling the Royal family to return to Portugal, they might again be invested with the exclusive monopoly of all Brazilian commerce.

A conspiracy was in fact said to have been formed, with the co-operation of the auxiliary division, for the express purpose of accomplishing this object; but from all the evidence that can be collected on the point, it does not appear that it had any fixed plan. The sympathy of the European residents and military with the proceedings of the Cortes, was nevertheless obvious; and his Majesty was, in consequence, induced much against his own wishes, to sign a decree dated on the 7th of March, wherein he stated his intention of returning to Lisbon, and leaving the kingdom of Brazil in the charge of Don Pedro, until the general Constitution of the Portuguese

nation should be established. On the same day instructions for the election of Deputies to the Cortes of Lisbon were issued; and in the absence of any regulations from the Cortes on this head, the elections were to take place in the manner established in the Spanish Constitution. The people were to nominate commissioners; these Commissioners, the parish electors; these parish electors, the provincial electors; and these provincial electors, the Deputies.

The gradual development of the preceding events had in the meantime awakened a spirit which had never on any previous occasion manifested itself among the native inhabitants of Rio de Janeiro. In the primary movements in this city the European Portuguese had taken precedence of the Brazilians, who had in the first instance held back from timidity; but from the increased enthusiasm with which they entered into the elections, from the projects of instructions which were sketched out for the government of their Deputies to Portugal, and from the opposition manifested to all the plans of what they already began to term re-colonization, the Portuguese faction was made aware that in the people they had found masters and not slaves. Already they regretted having marched with too great precipitancy, but it was impossible to retract. Their only remedy was to dissemble their chagrin, and to take the first opportunity to

crush this nascent impulse. An apt occasion for which, was unfortunately not far distant.

The parochial elections had been satisfactorily completed, when the Chief magistrate of the metropolis, Ouvidor da Comarca, in conformity with the orders of his Majesty, convoked a meeting of the electors, for the purpose of acquainting them with the purport of a decree whereby Don Pedro was placed at the head of the provisional government, to be established on the departure of the King. This superfluous convocation it appears extremely difficult to account for; excepting by the generally received hypothesis, that Don John, aware of the hostility of the majority of the electors to his departure, was anxious to obtain their suffrages in favour of his stay, as an off-set to the Portuguese Manifesto. Be this as it may, the meeting took place on the evening of the 21st of April, in the New Exchange; when a tumultuous discussion ensued, which is in the outset said to have been fomented by the emissaries of the King, who were stationed in the crowd for the express purpose of opposing the intention notified in the decree. The result was one which might have been anticipated. The confusion ere long attained such a height, that the President found himself utterly unable either to direct or to control the deliberations of the meeting. Unacquainted with the forms of deliberate as-

semblies, and influenced by exaggerated ideas as to the extent of their qualifications, the electors proceeded to decree measures, not only affecting the general interests of the nation, but also the august person of His most Faithful Majesty. Such was the warmth excited, that the few were overruled by the many, and resolutions of the most violent import were absolutely carried by acclamation. The Generals Curado, and Moraes, were sent off to the fortresses of Santa Cruz, Villagalhon, and Lage, to intimate that the departure of the squadron fitting out for the conveyance of the King to Portugal should be prevented. An outcry was also made that the treasure which had been conveyed on board should again be disembarked; and finally, from a well founded apprehension that the Constitution formed by the Cortes might be constructed in such a manner as to favour the interests of Portugal, at the expense of those of Brazil, it was decided that the Spanish Constitution should be the one adopted, and that a deputation should be forthwith sent to the King to require its immediate acceptance.

This deputation was at once despatched to the Palace, and there ushered into the presence of the feeble-minded Monarch; who not only received the members with urbanity, but before their departure, gave his assent to a decree, whereby the Spanish Constitution, which it is

not probable that he had ever seen, was ordered to be put in observance. With which reply the Deputation returned to the Exchange, where they were greeted with the most enthusiastic acclamations.

Intelligence of these important occurrences in the meantime spread through the city, and the Portuguese troops began to assemble in the Largo de Rocio. The electors, on being informed of this, decided that the General Carlos Frederico de Caula, Governor-at-arms, should be summoned for the purpose of giving information relative to the movement of the armed force. The General accordingly presented himself to the electors, and pledged his word of honour in favour of the good intentions of the troops, and of his profound respect for the electoral College. Satisfied with this promise, the deliberations were continued much in the same style as before, until nearly three in the morning; when a company of the auxiliary division arrived, and, without the slightest warning, fired a volley of musquetry on the unarmed electors, and those around them; and afterwards carried the place at the point of the bayonet. Fortunately, the majority had already retired, and the results were less fatal than might have been anticipated; but three individuals were killed on the spot, and upwards of twenty wounded.

The order given to the troops to march on the

electoral college is generally attributed to Don Pedro. He is known to have been amongst them in the Largo de Rocio, on the evening in question, and there are cogent reasons for believing that no one was more anxious than the Prince to facilitate the departure of his Royal parents. A mutual coolness had long subsisted between them, and Don Pedro had betrayed frequent symptoms of impatience at the subordinate station which he had hitherto held; and, as well as his chief adviser and confidant, the Count dos Arcos, he was known to have harboured the most bitter animosity against the existing Ministry. That nobleman, the ex-Governor of Bahia, is generally accused of having fomented the ambition of the Prince from a hope, that, in case of the elevation of his patron, he would be created Prime Minister; and if this were so, the result proves that his calculations were not ill-founded. The proposal of being appointed to the Regency had proved highly gratifying to Don Pedro. He had left Portugal at an early age, with but little regret; and the Count dos Arcos had subsequently inflamed his young imagination with the most exalted ideas of the magnificent resources of Brazil. Eager, therefore, to obtain the expected dignity, and fearful lest the departure of Don John should be inopportunely prevented by the pertinacity of the electors, he is said to have adopted the

arbitrary measure of dissolving the meeting in the Exchange by an armed force. It is, however, only just to add, that this hypothesis is as yet supported by circumstantial evidence alone.

Throughout the city of Rio de Janeiro the depth of consternation succeeded to the delirium of excitement. The public places of resort were deserted, the operations of commerce were suspended, and for the space of several weeks this bustling metropolis bore the unnatural appearance of a city of the dead. The King took advantage of this depression, and on the 22d of April issued a Decree annulling all that had been enacted on the preceding evening; as well as another, conferring on Don Pedro the dignity and attributes of Regent, and Lieutenant to his Majesty in the Kingdom of Brazil. A new Ministry was also formed, the members of which were, the Count de Louzãa, Minister of Finance; the Count dos Arcos, Minister of Justice, the Home department and Foreign affairs; Manoel Antonio Farinha for the Marine department, and Carlos Frederico de Caula, hitherto Commander of the Portuguese troops, as Minister of War. On the day following, two Proclamations were published, inculcating fidelity to the Regent; and on the evening of the 24th of April, the King, with the remaining members of his family, embarked on board the line-of-battle ship, Don John VI.

The Counsellors of the unfortunate Monarch, and more particularly Silvestre Pinheiro Ferreira, Minister for the Foreign Department, had already foreseen the direction which public affairs would ere long take in Brazil. Habituated to the presence of a local government, this country would not now, they predicted, submit itself anew to the inconveniences, and still less to the humiliation, of a government situated on the other side of the Atlantic. The Cortes would, they feared, but irritate that jealousy, the germs of which were already springing up; and they already regarded a speedy separation of the two countries as inevitable; unless, on his arrival in Portugal, the King should succeed in closing the sessions of the Portuguese legislature.

These considerations had made a profound impression on the mind of Don John; who very naturally felt all a parent's repugnance to the thought, that this immense territory should thus be for ever lost as an heritage to the House of Braganza. He was on the other hand incensed against the Prince royal, for having assisted in forcing his return from Rio de Janeiro; and before sailing on the morning of the 26th, he is said to have addressed some strong reproaches to his Highness. When, however, the anchor was up, the vessel under way, and the old King strained his son to his bosom for the last time,—"Pedro,"

exclaimed he,—" Brazil will, I fear, ere long separate herself from Portugal; and if so, place the Crown on thine own head, rather than allow it to fall into the hands of any adventurer!"

In the same fleet with his Majesty, were all the principal nobility who had accompanied him from Portugal, along with their adherents, forming altogether a suite of more than three thousand individuals; in which number were comprised the chief capitalists of the metropolis: and immense sums in specie were in consequence withdrawn from the Bank on this occasion.

CHAPTER III.

Character of Don Pedro—Measures adopted subsequently to the departure of the King—Reception of the bases of the Portuguese constitution—Insurrection of the 5th of June, 1821.—Establishment of provincial governments—Influence of the Portuguese party—Straits of the Administration in Rio—Suspension of payments by the National Bank—Sketch of the history of that establishment—Change in the sentiments of Don Pedro, in consequence of his embarrassments.

Don Pedro was at this period in the twenty-third year of his age, and was the father of two children, Don John Carlos, Prince De Beira, and the Princess Donna Maria de Gloria. He was of a handsome person, his manners were frank and affable, and his disposition, though capricious, was enthusiastic. Many essentials for popularity he certainly possessed: how far he was otherwise qualified for the fulfilment of the high functions imposed upon him, will best be seen in the sequel. One of his first cares, after the departure of the King, was as far as possible to check that growing spirit of disunion between the Brazilians and the Portuguese, which was daily becoming more and more evident; for which purpose he gave frequent ban-

quets, to which the military officers of both countries were indiscriminately invited. Here both parties made their appearance, dissembled their resentments, feasted together, and left each other as irreconcileable enemies as ever. The situation of the Prince was certainly one of some difficulty. On the one hand, the manifest intimacy existing between him and the officers of the auxiliary division, after, as well as before, the revolt of the 21st of April, became highly offensive to the Brazilians; whilst, on the other, the Ministry of the Count dos Arcos, who was suspected by the Portuguese of being more strongly attached to the interests of Brazil than to those of the mother country, proved equally displeasing to these prætorian supporters of the authority of Don Pedro. The Administration was also in financial difficulties. The preceding government had left an empty treasury, and the national Bank was, from previous mismanagement, so much impoverished, that it was on the point of suspending its payments. A rigid and inflexible system of economy was thus an object of supreme necessity; and, principally through the influence of the Count dos Arcos, who was possessed of both tact and energy, it was carried into effect, as well in the domestic establishment at San Christovão, as throughout the various branches of the Administration. Many decrees exhibiting a lively interest in the public welfare

were also published, and several oppressive imposts abolished; yet these demonstrations were, it must be owned, regarded by all parties with suspicion rather than gratitude: being, it was feared, no more than schemes for popularity, hazarded for the purpose of again cementing the tottering edifice of absolute power.

In the mean time the election of the Brazilian deputies for the Cortes of Lisbon was completed. The bases of the Portuguese Constitution were also received in Rio de Janeiro, where, on their arrival, though they were regarded by all parties as founded on just and reasonable principles, yet the Prince resolved to postpone the convocation of the authorities, who ought to make oath to them, until he should receive intelligence of the events succeeding to the entry of his most faithful Majesty into Lisbon.

This delay not only gave rise to much dissatisfaction among the Portuguese party, but very materially tended to confirm their apprehensions that, the Prince, in conjunction with the Count dos Arcos, might yet annul all that had hitherto been done, and re-establish, or rather continue, the old system. The known character and sentiments of the Minister most undoubtedly gave some weight to this supposition, but, fortunately for the accuracy of history, the correspondence of Don Pedro with his father has since been made public; and it must

be confessed, that no sufficient ground for this opinion can be adduced. Under an impression of its validity, however, the auxiliary division organized a second insurrection, which was put in force on the 5th of June, 1821 ; on which day they again marched to the Largo de Rocio, and there demanded that the bases of the Constitution lately transmitted from Portugal should forthwith be sworn to. Though highly incensed at this rebellious conduct, Don Pedro, after convoking the provincial electors, and ascertaining that their sentiments were in accordance with those of the troops, took the oath required before the Bishop of Rio and the Municipality ; in which example he was immediately imitated by the entire assemblage. No sooner had he thus far acceded to the wishes of the revolters, than they further required that the Count dos Arcos should be dismissed from the Ministry, that the command of the armed force should be placed in the hands of a military commission, and that a Junta, responsible to the Cortes of Lisbon, should be appointed, without whose approbation no law should be promulgated, nor any important business decided upon. His Highness found himself under the necessity of acceding to all these demands also ; and Pedro Alvarez Deniz was appointed to the Ministry in place of the Count dos Arcos, who was despatched to Lisbon. A Junta and a Military Commission were also

organized; but the former was shortly after reduced to a nullity, and the latter speedily dissolved itself, by the mutual consent of its members.

Other sources of chagrin were, in the mean time, rapidly contributing to disgust the Prince with his lately acquired authority. By a law, dated the 24th of April, 1821, the Cortes of Lisbon declared, that all the provincial governments which should detach themselves from their common centre, Rio de Janeiro, and subject themselves to the immediate administration of the tribunals of Portugal, would be well deserving of their country. The result of which disorganizing decree, was the instantaneous formation of a crowd of petty provisional municipal governments throughout Brazil; each corresponding directly with the Cortes of Lisbon, and each refusing any longer to pay its quota towards the revenue of Rio de Janeiro. The alleged ground of this separation from their natural centre, was an apprehension that the Prince was only waiting a favourable opportunity to invest himself with absolute power; and this opinion was in all parts eagerly fomented by the commercial class, consisting almost exclusively of native Portuguese, who were, as has been before stated, strongly stimulated by a hope that the Cortes would speedily re-invest them with all their ancient privileges and immunities. Every fo-

reigner they considered as an interloper, and the treaty of commerce which had been effected with the English in 1810, was the especial object of their vituperation.

Such was the influence of this party in the city of Bahia, that the provisional Junta who had held the reins of government in that province ever since its first manifestation in favour of the Constitution, explicitly refused to acknowledge the authority of Don Pedro as Regent; on the ground that his nomination ought to have emanated from the Cortes, and not from the King, and that consequently the decree of the 22nd of April was null and void. As a further proof of their loyalty to the government of Portugal, they also requested from thence an additional number of troops, to maintain the existing relations of the two countries. These manifestations were too flattering to the Cortes not to be well received. They declared them to be essentially constitutional, and immediately shipped off to Brazil the detachments required. The colonial system, which the merchants in Bahia testified a wish to revive, also met with their entire approbation, and their acknowledgments. Thus, though nominally the Regent of Brazil, Don Pedro found himself in reality no more than the simple Governor of Rio de Janeiro, and one or two of the southern provinces; in the greatest difficulties from the falling off of the revenue, and yet surround-

ed by a numerous and expensive administration : while, to add to his financial embarrassments, the National Bank suspended its payments on the 28th of July, 1821.

This establishment, the history of which is so intimately interwoven with the subsequent political history of Brazil, was first instituted by a Royal decree, dated the 21st of October, 1808, under the denominaton of the Bank of Brazil ; and the duration of its charter fixed at twenty years. The shareholders were responsible to no further extent than the amount of their respective shares ; and its capital was one thousand, two hundred contos of reis, which at par, amounted to £337,500 sterling, in shares of one conto of reis each ; which capital was, however, in the first instance doubled, and afterwards trebled. All suits and actions against Bank stock were null.

The projected operations of the Bank were the discounting of bills ; advances on mortgaged property, silver, gold, and diamonds ; the transmission of the funds of individuals, and the Treasury, to all parts of Brazil, or abroad ; the reception of deposits at the legal rate of interest ; the sale of the Royal monopolies, such as diamonds, Brazil wood, ivory, and orchilla weed ; and the purchase and sale of bullion. Its administration was placed in the hands of forty shareholders ; by whom a Junta was chosen an-

nually from their own number, who were again placed under the presidency of four directors. This Junta was to have the disposal of the funds of the Bank, and the directors were appointed for the scrutiny of its various transactions. All disputes to be decided by a general meeting of the proprietors.

The nomination of the members of the Junta and directors of the Bank, was in the first instance vested in the Regent, and afterwards in the general assembly of shareholders, subject to the royal confirmation. Five-sixths of the dividends accruing to the proprietors were to be paid every six months; the remaining sixth being retained in the coffers of the Bank as a fund of reserve, on account of which they were to receive five per cent. per annum. Foreigners were allowed to hold shares, but not to take any part in the direction.

Much unwillingness was in the outset displayed by both Brazilian and Portuguese capitalists, to invest their funds in this novel institution; nor was it until the King made known his intention of conferring the honours of knighthood on all the principal shareholders, that a sufficient sum could be raised for the commencement of operations. Such, however, was then the eagerness to obtain the flattering distinction, that many unprovided with the necessary amount of property, took the specified number of shares,

and left the actions unpaid for in the coffers of the Bank as security. These shares were in the half yearly statements of the directors counted as metallic currency; yet, whenever the dividend fell due, many of them are known to have been privately delivered over to their nominal owners, and after the full amount of interest had been paid upon them, to have been again placed in deposit in the coffers of the Bank. The directors are also known to have made a practice of discounting bills for their own peculiar benefit, with the funds belonging to the establishment: which they were enabled to do with complete impunity, since publicity on these points formed no part of their system.

It was not to be expected that an association thus constituted could long be prevented from becoming a willing instrument in the hands of a despotic government. It was the interest of the Bank to lend, and it was also the momentary interest of the government to borrow. Loans upon loans of paper money were in consequence made to the Treasury; but as neither the capital, nor the responsibility, of the Bank were increased, this paper money was not the representative of any real value. The proprietors of Bank stock nevertheless received their full rate of interest upon it; and the consequence was that their gains were enormous. Yet neither these gains, nor the lucrative system of fraud

adopted by the directors, and other chief functionaries of the institution, could long support their increased extravagance. Dazzled by their apparently inexhaustible resources, they forsook their commercial occupations, adopted the manners of the Court, and entered upon a style of living unrivalled even by the nobility. At length, the Treasurer abandoned his family, and fled to the United States; carrying with him the funds of an Insurance company, with which he was also entrusted; and out of the four individuals appointed to the directorship, — one declared himself a bankrupt, yet having secured the bulk of his property to his sons, to whom he acted as guardian, was enabled to enjoy his illicit gains with impunity; another retired from trade insolvent, and was never able to reimburse the sums which he had taken as a loan from the Bank; and a third, after having for a long time sheltered himself under the protection of a corrupt Ministry, failed for an enormous amount, the greater part of which consisted in a debt due to the bank. Thus was an institution, created at an epoch when Brazil had opened her ports to the commerce of all nations, and which under judicious management might have proved an important source of prosperity, and given a material stimulus to that commerce itself, perverted to the most mischievous and criminal purposes.

At the time when Don John left Brazil, the Government debt to the Bank alone amounted to considerably more than the actual capital of the establishment: whilst the entire suite accompanying his Majesty to Portugal, having sent all the Bank paper in their hands to be exchanged for bullion, the Junta were reduced to the greatest poverty, and on the 28th of July following, being unable any longer to take up their issues in specie, they found themselves under the necessity of substituting a certain form of exchange; as for example, for a note of one hundred milreis, Rs. 75‖000 were given in small notes, Rs. 15‖000 in silver, and Rs. 10‖000 in copper; a measure constituting in fact a suspension of payments.

This financial crisis was not, however, at the moment, productive of any violent commotion; as the less instructed part of the population were taught to attribute the consequent depreciation of the Bank paper to the Balance of trade, — a groundless panic, and the want of a circulating medium! If they were not convinced, they were at least mystified, and do not appear to have regarded the late measures on the part of the Bank with any adequate alarm. These adverse circumstances, in conjunction with the seditious spirit of the Portuguese troops, nevertheless succeeded in giving Don Pedro the most hearty disgust for the

office and attributes which he then held; and, accordingly, on the 21st of September, we find him addressing his Royal father in the following words:—

"With the permission of your Majesty, I will lay before you the unhappy and lamentable situation of this province; to the end, that your Majesty may transmit me such orders, as will enable me to retire with dignity from the fatal labyrinth wherein I find myself entangled.

"This province, Sire, was for thirteen years considered as the seat of the monarchy, and it was so in reality:—circumstances had thus ordained it. All the authorities ordinarily concentrated in a metropolis were here established, and in default of a sufficient revenue, all the other provinces contributed their share. The Bank, moreover, enjoyed a certain credit; there were precious metals in its coffers; there was but little copper coin, and the little that there was, circulated freely; thanks to the honourable reputation of the Bank.

"Fortunate circumstances having restored the Monarchy to its ancient and primitive seat, all the provinces of Brazil adhered, as in duty bound, to the national cause. The Bank, meanwhile, has been brought into discredit by its administrators, who have dissipated its funds. Gold and silver have been withdrawn from cir-

culation, no province remits funds, and yet all the Ministers, all the principal members of the administration, continue to reside here; and the dependents living at the expense of the State are innumerable. Meanwhile, the only funds paid into the Treasury, are the revenues of the province, and these are paid only in paper. It is, nevertheless, necessary to maintain as heretofore, a multitude of functionaries, the staff of an entire army, and numerous tribunals; and, as I have before said, there are no longer any finances, nor do I know how to obtain them. Such is a faithful picture of the unfortunate situation of this province.

"I supplicate your Majesty, by all that is most sacred, to relieve me from these painful functions, beneath the burthen of which I can no longer exist. Horrible visions continually surround me. Some already are beneath my eyes; others more dreadful are in prospect. They are continually before me, and I conjure your Majesty to permit me, as soon as possible, again to kiss your royal hand, and to reseat myself on the steps of your throne."

CHAPTER IV.

Measures adopted by the Cortes of Lisbon—Suppression of the tribunals, and recal of the Prince—Appointment of Governors-at-Arms—Aspirations for Independence—Effects of the Abolition of the Censorship—Patriotism of the Secular Clergy—Proclamation of the 4th of October, 1821—Attestation of Don Pedro—Effect of the Decrees of the 29th of September—Preparations for the Regent's Departure—State of Parties—Address from San Paulo—Andrada Family—Address of the Municipality of Rio—Consent of the Prince to remain in Brazil—Revolt of the Auxiliary Division in consequence—Ejection of the Portuguese Troops—Convocation of a Council of State—Dissensions in Pernambuco and Bahia.

The Cortes of Lisbon were in the mean time proceeding in their labours, with but little consideration for the opinions of the people for whom they were legislating; excepting in those cases wherein they happened to agree with their own. That their intentions were patriotic cannot be denied, but unfortunately their patriotism was of the most exclusive caste. Their measures for doing away with the Inquisition, for the admission of every citizen to public offices, for the liberty of the press, the establishment of legal equality, the abolition of the Royal veto, and of all secular and ecclesiastical privileges, sufficiently indi-

cate the spirit in which they were determined to legislate for themselves; yet, no sooner were the affairs of Brazil on any occasion brought before them, than their dispositions became as aristocratical, as they had on other questions been democratic.

By a decree of the 28th of July, 1821, it was resolved, that the army of Portugal and Brazil should henceforth form but one body. The object of this measure evidently was, by enabling the government to call, at will, the Brazilian troops to Portugal, and to despatch the Portuguese to Brazil, thus to re-accomplish the subjection of the American portion of the kingdom. On receiving intelligence of the increasing agitation throughout Brazil, and of the refusal of the city of Bahia to acknowledge the authority of the Regent, their conduct became still more arbitrary. Although not more than one-fourth of the Brazilian deputies had taken their seats, by a decree of the 29th of September, the Chancery court, the Treasury, the Junta of commerce, and all the various central tribunals and establishments, which had been created in Rio de Janeiro during the reign of Don John, were abolished; whilst, by another decree of the same date, the Prince was ordered to return to Lisbon, with the condition, that before his entry into Portugal, he should make a tour, *incognito*, through England, France,

and Spain, for the purpose of completing his political education.

Perhaps, more worthless and inefficient tribunals than those in Rio de Janeiro have, on the whole, seldom had existence; yet it would be difficult to vindicate their suppression. In a Manifesto which Portugal had addressed to the various nations of Europe at the time when she reclaimed her King, one of the principal grounds of complaint was, that justice was administered with excessive delay and expense, from a distance of six thousand miles; and yet, in the face of this plea, she now attempted to subject Brazil, a constituent part of the kingdom, to the same disability. The recal of the Prince was, like the abolition of the tribunals, dictated by a wish to annihilate even the last vestige of the central government, previously established in Rio de Janeiro.

To this succeeded another decree, dated the 1st of October, by which a Governor-at-arms, deputed by the executive power in Lisbon, and independent of the provisional juntas, was appointed to each province; and, on the 18th of the same month, it was also decided that further detachments of troops should be sent off to Pernambuco, and Rio de Janeiro. It is, perhaps, impossible to conceive a series of measures better adapted to frustrate their own ends; yet, from the language of the Cortes, it might have

been assumed that they were conferring a boon, which must necessarily be accepted with gratitude. They asserted that this removal of the tribunals must materially tend to multiply the relations, and strengthen the bonds of union existing between the two countries; and that the troops already sent to, and at present destined for Brazil, were Constitutional forces, whose appearance must necessarily be gratifying to all the friends of liberty. The Brazilians could not, however, be made to comprehend the force of this reasoning. They might possibly have submitted to the decrees, if the reinforcements had preceded them; but as the Cortes in their wisdom invariably sent out the decrees first, and the troops destined for their enforcement afterwards, symptoms of rebellion very soon became apparent.

As it has been before observed, the native Brazilians had, in imitation of the European residents, embraced the Constitutional cause with ardour, because, by means of it, they expected an amplification of their civil liberties. When, on the contrary, they became convinced that it was the intention of the Cortes to reduce them once more to the condition of colonists, they again stood apart from the Portuguese faction, and determined, if possible, to achieve their own independence. With the abolition of the censorship, a host of energies, unknown

before, immediately evinced themselves throughout the whole social body; and the press began to teem with periodical publications. Fortunately for the progress of humanity, the writings of the Abbé de Pradt, on colonial policy, had fallen into the hands of some of the chief leaders of public opinion in the city of Rio. The works of this author have since been superseded in Europe, where their novelty is gone by, and where less diffuse expositions of the same principles have since appeared; but the soundness of his general maxims has since this period only been confirmed. He was the first popular writer on the continent who gave utterance to that celebrated sentiment, "Let Europe look to Europe, and America to America, and all will be well!" which truly prophetic words were echoed back with the most ardent enthusiasm among the early partizans of the independence, in their conversation, in their correspondence, and, more than all, in their Masonic associations. Sentiments of a similar tendency, though far more cautiously worded, also from time to time made their appearance in the newly instituted journals; and though, in other respects, it must be owned that these publications contained but little worthy of interest, yet they were, for the most part, edited in a liberal spirit, and were not ill adapted to the circumstances of the country. Until now,

the great mass of the free population had remained in ignorance, but ignorance is less difficult to vanquish than prejudice. They had little to unlearn, and the progress of truth was not embarrassed at every step by that false knowledge which is too often the bane of cultivated Europe. The very insignificance of Portuguese literature was here favourable to the progress of the new philosophy.

It is also gratifying to record, and it may be characterized as an important and interesting fact, that the secular Clergy were ever in the foremost rank throughout this moral struggle. Being deprived of their tithes, they had neither any property to protect, nor any established privileges or abuses to preserve. On the contrary, they were animated with the same spirit as the people, and regarded their interests as bound up with those of the entire Brazilian community. In general, they were certainly deficient in knowledge, and but too often licentious in their habits, yet they were possessed of considerable influence, and this influence they universally employed for the propagation and generalization of liberal opinions.

In proportion, however, as the crisis approached, the partizans of independence became more and more aware of the difficulties of their enterprise. All the maritime cities of Brazil were held by Portuguese troops, the

means of communication were difficult and uncertain, and the provinces were divided amongst themselves. Unless the co-operation of the Prince could be obtained, it appeared impossible that, either the centralization of the kingdom could be again established, or a sanguinary and doubtful contest be avoided. His Highness was therefore at once sounded on the topic, and is said to have given the promoters of the scheme a favourable hearing; though on subsequently discovering that the Brazilians were without any regularly organized party, that much confidence was still placed in the Cortes, and that the auxiliary division were still the virtual masters of the city, he appears to have vacillated, and to have again recurred to the scheme of following his Royal father to Portugal. The patriots nevertheless determined on an effort, and as early as the 4th of October, proclamations were issued, declaring Brazil independent, and Don Pedro emperor. This attempt, however, proved altogether abortive, and in addressing the King on the subject, his Highness expressed himself against the conspirators in the most violent language. "They have wished," he observed, "and it is said that they still wish, to proclaim me Emperor. I protest to your Majesty, that I never will be perjured; that I never will be false; and that if they commit this folly, it will only be after having mas-

sacred me, and my brave Portuguese adherents, since I here *swear to be always faithful to your Majesty, and to the Portuguese nation and Constitution!* a solemn oath, which I now trace with my blood."

The force of this attestation, which, according to its tenor, he actually traced with his own blood, may certainly have some weight in evincing the sincerity of the Prince at the moment when the communication was penned; yet it is far from exonerating him from the guilt of having held secret council with the conspirators: the belief in which charge appears to be confirmed by the fact, that though a number of the subordinate agents were arrested, no notice was ever taken of the real heads of the conspiracy. Though every hope of Don Pedro's co-operation was thus for the moment excluded, the patriot party were shortly after strengthened by a most powerful reinforcement, whence they had least expected it. On the arrival of the Decrees of the 29th of September, a phenomenon occurred which does not appear to have at all entered into the calculations of the Cortes. All the individuals who were dispossessed of their offices by the annihilation of the tribunals, were instantaneously converted into exalted patriots; and, as though transformed by some supernatural agency, those who had crouched through the greater part of their lives among the lowliest slaves of

power, now started up amongst the most noisy and strenuous advocates for independence. The decree for the recal of the Prince naturally gave birth also to an equally violent commotion amongst all the old royalists, who began to apprehend, with much apparent justice, that if his Highness were once allowed to depart, Monarchy could never more be re-established in Brazil.

Don Pedro, nevertheless, prepared to obey the intimation; and orders were given for the election of a Junta, into whose hands the reins of the government were to be confided, on his departure. As soon as the choice should be made, he wrote to his father that he would immediately set sail for Portugal. "All is at present quiet," said his Highness, "since the troops are united and obedient, although too few for the service."

The outcry against his departure became, however, day by day more general; and this, too, more especially, amongst a class whom none could accuse of favouring either the cause of independence, or any other innovation whatsoever. Perhaps the singular aspect which the contending factions suddenly assumed at this juncture, has seldom, if ever, been paralleled. Whilst on the one hand, the Constitutional Portuguese were disposed to support to the utmost, the late arbitrary decrees of the Cortes; on the other, the bigoted and superstitious supporters of legitimacy were unconsciously enlisted in the

cause of the patriots, under the impression, that they were thus alike thwarting the operations of the democratic Cortes, and preventing the future establishment of a republican government in Brazil.

In the city of San Paulo, which is situated within a few days' journey of Rio de Janeiro, and where the patriots were even stronger than in the metropolis, their operations were also, on this occasion, more prompt and decisive than those of their partizans in that city. On his receiving the intelligence of the Prince's recall, Jozé Bonifacio de Andrada e Silva, the Vice-president of the Provincial junta, summoned a meeting of his colleagues at eleven o'clock at night, and before they again separated, succeeded in obtaining their signatures to an address, wherein his Highness was plainly told, that his departure would be the signal for Brazil to declare her independence. "How dare these deputies of Portugal," observed the Junta, in this justly celebrated document, "without waiting for those of Brazil, thus promulgate laws affecting the most sacred interests of each province of an entire kingdom? How dare they dismember and subdivide this kingdom, into a number of isolated particles, possessing no common centre of strength and union? How dare they deprive your Royal Highness of the Regency with which your august father, our Monarch,

had invested you? How dare they snatch from Brazil the Tribunal instituted for the interpretation and modification of the laws (desembargo do paço); the one for the general administration of ecclesiastical affairs (mesa de consciencia e ordens); the Council of finance (Conselho de fazenda); the Tribunal of commerce (Junta de commercio); the Court royal (Casa de suplicação); and so many other establishments calculated for the public utility? To whom are the unfortunate people hereafter to address themselves, touching their economical and judicial interests? After having been for twelve years accustomed to prompt redress, will they now undergo anew the delays and the chicanery of the tribunals of Lisbon? After all the deceitful promises of reciprocal equality and fraternity, can any one actually believe in the existence of this vile stratagem?"

In this same address the proviso that the Regent should travel through Europe incognito, before he was permitted to enter Portugal, was also stigmatized as an insult which had excited the public indignation even more than the outrage on their affections, committed in the removal of the august heir to the house of Braganza.

Jozé Bonifacio de Andrada, the individual with whom these proceedings had their origin, was a native of the province of San Paulo;

and the eldest of three brothers, all of whom had enjoyed the advantages of an education in the college of Coimbra in Portugal; where he took his degree as Doctor in jurisprudence and natural philosophy. He afterwards travelled during several years in the northern countries of Europe, devoting himself meanwhile to scientific researches, the results of which it was his intention to publish in Brazil. On his return to Portugal, he was created Professor of metallurgy in Coimbra, and of chemistry in Lisbon; and on the invasion of Portugal headed a corps formed from among the students to repel the intruders. Having, however, at length obtained the requisite authority, he returned to Brazil in 1819. Antonio Carlos, the second brother, who had also taken the degree of Doctor in jurisprudence and philosophy, had returned from Portugal at a much earlier period, and was exercising the office of Ouvidor in Pernambuco, when the revolt in 1817 took place. Being arrested as an accomplice of the conspirators, he was sent down to Bahia, where he remained in prison four years, which period he almost exclusively employed in instructing a number of his fellow prisoners in rhetoric, foreign languages, and the elements of judicial science. Being at length liberated, he returned to San Paulo, and was shortly afterwards elected Deputy for that province, in the Cortes of Lisbon,

whither he had recently gone for the purpose of exercising his functions. Martin Francisco, the youngest, had also taken his degree as Doctor of mathematics; and of the entire family, it may be remarked that, they were amongst the most intelligent and talented men in the country.

On the completion of the address to Don Pedro, Jozé Bonifacio immediately transmitted it to Rio de Janeiro, whither he shortly afterwards prepared to follow it, for the purpose of enforcing its arguments in person. A corresponding agitation had in the meantime evinced itself in the province of Minas, where similar proceedings were in progress; when the inhabitants of Rio de Janeiro, on being made aware of what was taking place, addressed themselves also to the Municipality of the city as their only representatives; and in a Manifesto, to which were attached upwards of eight thousand signatures, requested the interference of the President with Don Pedro, to avert the execution of the two late decrees of the Cortes. In accordance with their wishes, Jozé Clemento Pereira, afterwards Minister, waited officially on the Prince, on the 9th of January 1822, and after presenting the Manifesto, proceeded to lay before his Highness an exposition of the feelings of the royalist, as well as of the patriot party, concerning his departure. "Can it be possible,"

exclaimed the orator, in his address, which was immediately afterwards published, "that your Highness is still ignorant of the existence of a republican party, disseminated through several, if not all, the provinces of Brazil? Are not a number of the leaders of the explosion in 1817 still in existence? And if so, are they not men of energetic characters, whose ideas are not likely to have changed? What other opinion will appear to them so well founded as their own? Does not public rumour announce it as certain, that even in this city a fraction of their party has acquired new vigour with the hope of the departure of your Highness? That its efforts to acquire strength, and to gain converts, are unceasing? And that it has lost courage only at the aspect of the prevailing opinion which calls for the residence of your Royal Highness in Rio de Janeiro?

"Let Brazil be endowed with a proximate centre of union and activity; let her own a part of the legislative, and a branch of the executive power, with competent, extensive, and liberal attributes; but so regulated that there will still be one only legislative, and one only executive power; one only Cortes, and one only King; that Portugal and Brazil may henceforth form one only united family, one only people, one only nation, one only empire.

"Remain, Prince, amongst us, to give the sove-

reign Congress time to become acquainted with the perilous state of affairs here, and to furnish that assembly with the means of becoming acquainted with our predominant opinions. Give them time to receive the humble representations of this faithful and constitutional people, united to those of the other provinces. Give these provinces leisure to congregate round that centre of union, where it is indispensable to rally in order to save the country. Give us time, Prince, and let us hope that the fathers of the country will yet listen to the aspirations of their children in Brazil."

An immense concourse of people of all classes had attended the Municipality on this occasion, amongst whom were a number of officers belonging to the Portuguese division, anxious to witness the result of the requisition. After a patient hearing of the deputation, the Prince finally thought proper to accede to the general wish, exclaiming —"If it be for the good of all, and for the general felicity of the nation, tell the people that I will remain!"

This explicit declaration gave rise to the most enthusiastic demonstrations of joy amongst both patriots and royalists. The Portuguese military, however, soon again evinced symptoms of mutiny. Avilez, the Commandant, at once requested his dismissal; and, indeed, even before this had been officially accorded, his troops,

amounting to two thousand men, left their quarters on the evening of the 11th of January, and providing themselves with artillery, marched to the Castello hill, which commanded the entire city. Intelligence of this movement was during the night made public, and ere the following day dawned, the Campo de Santa Anna, a plain about half a mile distant from the position occupied by the Portuguese troops, was crowded with armed men. The majority of these were undisciplined citizens, little fitted to cope with the veteran Portuguese, many of whom had fought under the Duke of Wellington in the Peninsula. In numbers, however, they were far superior to their antagonists: they were also well provided with artillery, and an immediate conflict appeared inevitable, when Avilez, perplexed by this unexpected opposition, fearful of offending the Prince, and vacillating from the circumstance of his having no positive orders from the Cortes, offered to capitulate, on condition that his soldiers should be allowed to retain their arms. This was conceded, provided they would retire to Praya Grande, a village on the opposite side of the bay, until vessels could be provided for their embarkation to Lisbon. The repeated attempts at dictation which this division had manifested towards the Prince, had previously incensed him, and finding himself supported on

the present occasion, he determined on thus removing them to the mother country. As His Highness promised to become responsible to the Cortes for the consequences of their departure, the Portuguese finally accepted the terms, and crossed over to Praya Grande the same day. The Prince himself abstained from appearing in the Campo, and the Princess, with her children, was sent for safety to the Royal seat at Santa Cruz, about twelve leagues from the capital. The fatigue of the journey, which was performed with great precipitation under a burning sun, unhappily proved fatal to the heir apparent, the Prince of Beira, a feeble child of eleven months old; who died on the 6th of the following month.

Preparations were in the meantime made for the immediate embarkation of the Portuguese troops in Praya Grande. But when the moment of departure arrived, they refused to go on board the transports, until the arrival of an expedition which was daily expected from Lisbon. Irritated at their refusal, the Prince stationed himself in one of the gun-boats, by which the division had been prevented from communicating with the city of Rio, and threatened that, unless they immediately embarked, he himself would be the first to fire upon them. Their demand for a longer stay was then modified into an application for three months' pay in advance, which

was at once complied with, and on the 15th of February they finally sailed for Europe.

During the progress of these events, Jozé Bonifacio had arrived from San Paulo, and had been elevated by Don Pedro to the office of Minister of the Interior, of Justice, and of Foreign affairs. One of the first objects of the new Prime Minister was to re-establish that centralization of the provinces, which the Cortes had almost entirely annulled, and which became of necessity the most effectual safeguard against external aggression. With this intent a Decree was published on the 16th of February, the day after the departure of the auxiliary division, directing the convocation of a Council of representatives; the members of which were to be deputed by the electors of all the various provinces of Brazil. All such as had sent four deputies to the Cortes were to name one for this assembly, and the others in the same proportion. The duties of this convocation were to counsel the Prince in all affairs of importance; to institute various projects of reform in the administration, and to bring forward the claims and exigencies of the respective provinces: the Prince being, by virtue of the same decree, created its President.

The task which the Minister had imposed upon himself was, however, fraught with no slight difficulty. Only four provinces came for-

ward to join the league, viz., Rio de Janeiro, Minas Geraes, Rio Grande do Sal, and San Paulo. Pernambuco had for a long time been a prey to civil dissensions. Two battalions of the line, and the bulk of the militia had taken arms against the Governor, Luis do Rego, and several conflicts had already taken place. At length, however, the Portuguese troops stationed there were recalled in the month of November, and replaced by others, who, being in the phrase of the Cortes "Constitutional troops," would, it was calculated, prove more acceptable under the present disposition of the inhabitants.

In Bahia public tranquillity was also disturbed during the month of February, 1822; when a struggle for precedence arose between the Brigadier Manoel Pedro de Freitas, a Brazilian, and General Madeira, the Portuguese Governor-at-arms. The Brazilian troops, and a body of the people took up arms in favour of Freitas, but being overpowered on the 17th of February, they retired to the fort of San Pedro, whence they again sallied on the 21st, for the purpose of encamping in the interior. Madeira in the meanwhile secured his position in the city; commerce was for the time suspended; and for several weeks the place remained in a state of utter anarchy and confusion.

CHAPTER V.

Incorporation of the Banda Oriental with Brazil in 1821 — Previous siege of Monte Video — Operations of Artigas, and invasion of the disputed province by the Portuguese — Overthrow of Artigas — Municipal Congress — Threats of Buenos Ayres — Demonstrations of the Cortes.

While the entire kingdom of Brazil was thus agitated by internal commotions, the acquisition of a distant territory was apparently confirmed by General Lecor, Baron of Laguna; at whose instance, the Cabildo, or Municipal Congress of Monte Video, met on the 18th of July, 1821, for the purpose of deciding whether the Banda Oriental should constitute itself independent, or form a federative union with Brazil: when, after a prolonged and violent discussion, the latter alternative was agreed to.

In order to have a clear perception of the causes which led to this union, it will be necessary to recur to the period, when the Spanish colonies on the banks of the river Plata first declared their independence. This event took place in Buenos Ayres in 1810, during the Vice-

royship of the Marquis Cisneros. Elio, the Governor of Monte Video, as well as the Governors of Conchas, Cordova, Potosi, Charcas, the Viceroy of Lima, and the ex-Captain-general of Buenos Ayres, declared against the revolution, and took up arms against the insurgents. With the exception of Elio, they were, however, all successively overpowered; and the republicans, under the joint command of Rondeau, a South American officer, and Artigas, a Gaucho chieftain, laid siege to Monte Video. Elio, finding himself unable to maintain the city, applied to the Portuguese government in Brazil for succour. Four thousand men were accordingly despatched to his assistance; but the Spaniard having apparently become distrustful of his new allies, shortly afterwards succeeded in making terms of peace; whereby it was agreed that the republicans should retire from the Banda Oriental, and the Portuguese at the same time return to Brazil. This was at once complied with by both parties; but the truce was not of more than twelve months' duration. Elio was superseded by Don G. Vigodet, who arrived from Spain with reinforcements; but the republicans were on the alert, and Monte Video was again besieged by the united forces of Rondeau and Artigas.

The latter, though a talented and intrepid chieftain, appears to have been possessed of

little principle ; for, in consequence of a quarrel with Rondeau, he withdrew his followers, and despatched a letter, which was intercepted, offering his services to the Spanish governor of Monte Video. Rondeau nevertheless maintained the siege until June, 1814, when the citadel surrendered: though the republican forces were unable to maintain their conquest against Artigas, who, under pretence of aiming at the entire independence of the province, commenced hostilities against his old allies. After having, therefore, shipped all the artillery and stores to Buenos Ayres, they evacuated the place, and Artigas entered it. The present was a tempting opportunity to the Portuguese government in Rio de Janeiro, which had long coveted the possession of the Banda Oriental ; and the Queen, who was a Spanish Princess, and sister to Ferdinand VII., resolved on taking this unfortunate province under, what was termed, her maternal protection. Some trifling aggressions committed on the frontier of Rio Grande served as an immediate pretext for hostilities, and a force of ten thousand men was accordingly despatched under the command of General Lecor ; the principal division of which entered Monte Video in January 1817, singing "Te Deum" for their success. Civil war, and the emigration consequent on it, had already reduced the inhabitants to less than one-third of their original

number, and the suburbs were but a heap of blackened and crumbling ruins. The Portuguese invasion gave the finishing stroke to this work of destruction; even the villages and settlements of the interior were for the most part destroyed, and the city of Monte Video was for a time reduced to a state of destitution. The existing government of Buenos Ayres complained loudly of this incursion into a territory appertaining to their republic, but to no purpose. To all their remonstrances General Lecor answered, that he had committed no act of interference; the province in question having constituted itself independent.

Artigas himself not only held the plains with his celebrated "Montenero," or roving band, but by giving the sanction of his authority to every pirate who chose to prey on the Portuguese, he almost annihilated their coasting trade with the southern provinces. On land also, though at present he retired before the invaders, he continued to carry on a guerilla war of four years' continuance; during the course of which he made an attack on Buenos Ayres, invaded Entre Rios, excited a revolt in Santa Fé, and committed many flagrant outrages in Paraguay. Being at length defeated in Entre Rios, by Ramirez, a Buenos Ayrean General, formerly one of his own lieutenants, he was compelled to fly with a thousand men, the remnant of his

forces, into Paraguay ; where he was seized and retained a prisoner by the Dictator Doctor Francia.

Having thus got rid of his most dangerous enemy, Lecor laid the proposal for the incorporation of the long-disputed province with the kingdom of Brazil, before the Municipal Congress. Many of the members of this body were at the time holding public offices, and others had received honorary decorations, from the government of Rio de Janeiro. They were, therefore, neither impartial arbitrators, nor were they in reality invested with attributes for any such decision. The majority nevertheless gave their votes in favour of the incorporation ; and the decision does not appear to have met with any opposition on the part of the inhabitants. Exhausted by civil war, abandoned by their republican compatriots, esteeming themselves too weak to maintain their own independence, and distracted by contending factions, even foreign supremacy appeared preferable to perpetual anarchy.

In Rio de Janeiro the event was hailed as a decisive triumph. The principle "that mankind are neither the property, nor the heritage of any dynasty, and that they have the inherent right to elect, or adopt, what government they think fit," was constantly reiterated in the public prints, as though an election thus obtained at

the point of the bayonet could be considered as a free choice. It was also urged through the same medium, that the river Plata formed the natural boundary of Brazil; without its ever occurring to the sagacity of these reasoners, that if once the principle of natural boundaries were acknowledged, the small strip of land denominated Portugal, might with equal justice be claimed by Spain.

The Buenos Ayreans, who had hitherto abstained from all interference, now most vehemently declared against this secession of territory, and their government openly stated its intention of again restoring at all risks the integrity of the united provinces of the republic. The Cortes of Lisbon were also far from regarding the proceedings of General Lecor with unmixed satisfaction. In the first instance they appeared to approve of what he had done; but as they deemed it judicious policy to weaken Brazil, while reinforcing the mother country, they shortly afterwards evinced a willingness to abandon Monte Video to its fate, in case that Spain would in return give up Olivença. This town, which is situated on the frontier of Estremadura, originally appertained to Portugal, and had been ceded to Spain by the treaty of Badajoz, in 1801. The Congress of Vienna had in 1815 already recommended its restitution, but hitherto without effect; and as the place contained nearly

five thousand inhabitants, and was strongly fortified, the Portuguese were naturally anxious to recover possession of it.

The inhabitants of Rio de Janeiro, and more particularly the royalists, received notice of the intentions of the Cortes with considerable impatience. They were indignant beyond measure that a fertile and extensive province should thus be balanced against a paltry town; and they universally exclaimed, that neither patriotism, nor religion, nor humanity, would allow them thus to desert a people who had voluntarily sought their protection. It is not impossible, however, but the prospective advantages which were expected to result from the possession of Monte Video, may have had some influence in thus awakening their philanthropy. Were Monte Video to be ceded to Spain, it appeared probable that the exclusive system would again be enforced; and not only would Brazil be thus deprived of all communication with the city in question, but the commercial intercourse with the Uruguay and the Parana, would be henceforth held by a very precarious tenure. In proportion, therefore, to the willingness of the Cortes to cede this territory, the general wish of Brazil to retain it naturally increased; and hence arose another fertile source of contention between the mother-country and her trans-atlantic provinces.

CHAPTER VI.

Demeanour of the Portuguese members of the Cortes towards the Brazilian Deputies — Arrival of the squadron for the conveyance of the Prince — Journey of his Highness to Villa Rica — Prohibition of the exportation of arms to Brazil by the Portuguese Government — Acceptation of the title of "Perpetual Protector and Defender of Brazil" by Don Pedro — Decree for the convocation of a Constituent Assembly — Order to General Madeira to embark for Portugal — Manifesto of the first of August, 1822.—Commencement of hostilities in Bahia—Ejection of the Portuguese troops from Pernambuco—Journey of Don Pedro to San Paulo, and declaration of independence—All dissentients subjected to banishment—Election of Don Pedro as Emperor—State and prospects of the new Empire, and its Administration.

Notwithstanding the dissatisfaction which had been caused throughout the American portion of the kingdom by their previous measures, the Cortes of Lisbon were still pursuing their legislative career, unchanged either by the spread of liberal opinions, or by the current of events. A number of the Brazilian Deputies had been instructed by their constituents to stipulate for such modifications of the Constitution, as might appear requisite for the peculiar circumstances of Brazil; which modifications they were, however, unable to obtain. They were gravely re-

minded by their Portuguese colleagues, that Brazil had made oath to the Constitution of the Cortes; and that it was therefore incumbent upon her to adopt it, whatever might be the principle on which it was constructed. The Deputies for Portugal amounted to more than one hundred and thirty; those for Brazil to seventy only, and of these seventy not more than fifty ever arrived in Lisbon. Their number was consequently too small to exercise any powerful influence on the decisions of the assembly. They were ever in the minority; and the demonstrations of contempt to which they were perpetually subjected, were even more mortifying than their repeated defeats. One of them, named Minez Tavares, requested a decree for the formation of an University in Brazil; when he was told in reply, that a few infant schools would be more appropriate. Others, whose sentiments were known to be opposed to those of the majority, were by the clamours of the galleries frequently prevented from obtaining a hearing; and of the remainder, a few were treacherously unfaithful to their trust.

On the subject of free trade, their representations were even more fruitless than in behalf of their personal liberties. In the entire chamber, a Desembargador of the name of Brito, appeared to be the only Portuguese who had familiarized himself with the science of Political economy;

and he was regarded by his colleagues as a dreaming theorist, utterly out of the pale of all argument. The *practical men* either passed over his expositions in contemptuous silence, or triumphantly referred him to the *successful policy* pursued in former days by the Marquis de Pombal. Even had the spread of intelligence been more general among the Cortes, it may be doubted whether they could have acted with more liberality. The bulk of the Portuguese nation was decidedly opposed to any material concessions to Brazil; and an assembly constituted as the Cortes of Lisbon were, could not long have acted in opposition to the popular voice. On receiving intelligence of the disorders in Bahia, a committee was appointed by the Cortes to deliberate upon the propriety of allowing the Prince to remain abroad until tranquillity could be restored. About the same time it was also decided that the marine academy in Rio, which they had previously suppressed, should be maintained; but this wise and conciliatory line of conduct was evinced far too late to be of any service in checking the revolution already in progress.

The squadron destined for the conveyance of the Prince Royal to Lisbon arrived in Rio de Janeiro on the 5th of March, but was prevented from entering the port until the Commander had signed a protestation of conformity, and en-

tire obedience to the will of the Prince. This was finally done, and after having been furnished with such stores and supplies as were deemed needful, the fleet was again despatched to Portugal on the 24th of the same month. Six hundred men were, however, engaged to remain in the service of Brazil. — "I have found," remarked Don Pedro, when writing on this topic to the King, "that these arrangements are useful on two accounts; first, because they have furnished Brazil with soldiers, who, when the period of their service is completed, will become excellent labourers; and secondly, because they have served to evince that there is no hatred felt towards the Portuguese. By this expedient I have endeavoured to tighten the bonds which unite us to the mother country." In the avowal of these sentiments there appears no reason whatever to suspect the sincerity of the Prince. Though prepared to proclaim the independence of Brazil, in case this step should afterwards become necessary for the maintenance of his authority there, he was exempt from all feelings of hostility to Portugal, and would willingly have maintained the existing union between the two countries, had this been any longer practicable.

On the day following that on which the squadron sailed, his Highness quitted Rio for Villa Rica, the capital of Minas Geraes; the Pro-

visional government in which city had refused to acknowledge the authority of the Prince; of whose intentions they were as yet distrustful. His unexpected presence proved, however, sufficient to restore their confidence; and in the course of a few days, he was enabled to return to Rio de Janeiro, in the full assurance of having entirely eradicated all germs of disaffection.

Affairs in the metropolis were, in the meantime, assuming a more serious aspect. An official notification had arrived, wherein the government of Portugal not only directed its Consuls in foreign ports to prevent the exportation of either arms or ammunition to its Trans-Atlantic provinces, but also threatened that, where the prohibition was eluded, confiscation of both ship and cargo should take place on their arrival. This notification was regarded as equivalent to a declaration of war, and the Municipality came in a body to supplicate the Prince to accept at their hands the title and attributes of "Perpetual Protector and Defender of Brazil." In accordance with their wishes he instantly did so; and on the 13th of May, the birth-day of the King of Portugal, the event was celebrated by great public rejoicings. The patriot party were more especially amongst the advocates for this concession of increased attributes to the Prince, in orde that he might thus, with every appearance of legality, confer upon

Brazil an independent legislature. Experience had made them fully aware that no good government could be anticipated from the Cortes of Lisbon, and they were impatient for the organization of a Chamber, the members of which being exclusively chosen from among their fellow countrymen, would naturally have for their chief object the welfare of Brazil. No sooner, therefore, had they accomplished the first step, than measures were taken for the immediate fulfilment of the second; and on the 20th of the same month the Municipality, many of whom were influenced by similar opinions on this point to those of the patriots, again marched to the Palace, attended by a large assemblage of citizens, where they presented a petition to His Highness, for the speedy convocation of an independent legislative chamber; whose office it should be to deliberate in public session, on the conditions which should henceforth continue to unite Brazil to Portugal; and to make such alterations and amendments in the Constitution, as might be deemed necessary.

Don Pedro replied to the deputation, that he would be guided by the will of the various provinces, as expressed by the Council of representatives already decreed; which body was accordingly convoked. As yet there were only three of these counsellors in Rio de Janeiro, who were, however, convened on the 3rd of June, when their

first act was to declare their own incompetence, and to request an independent legislature. This requisition, which was seconded by the entire cabinet, was in consequence acceded to. A decree for the creation of a constituent and legislative Assembly was issued in the course of the same day, and the Prince, in his address to the council, assured its members that this was the happiest moment of his life, since the assembly must necessarily promote that felicity of the people, which was his only desire. His enthusiasm being at length excited in the cause,—"It is necessary," he observed in his correspondence, "that Brazil should have her own legislature: this opinion becomes daily more general. Without this legislature she can know no felicity. Laws made at a distance, by individuals who are neither Brazilians, nor acquainted with the wants of Brazil, cannot be good. Brazil is in her adolescence, and is every day developing new vigour. What is appropriate for her to-day will no longer be so to-morrow, as it will then be useless, and a new necessity will be experienced. She is best acquainted with her own wants, and it is absurd to retain her longer in dependence on another hemisphere. As I have already said, she ought to have her own Legislature: the demand is just, it is founded on the rights of man, it is conformable to constitutional sentiments, and it is, moreover, a means of

maintaining an union which must otherwise shortly cease. Without equality of rights there can be no union. No one unites himself in society with the view of injuring his condition, and the strongest party ought certainly to know how to protect his own rights. Brazil will at least protect hers, and I myself will sustain them with my blood. Deign, Sire, to order that this letter be presented to the Cortes."

During the same month His Highness also despatched an order to General Madeira, commanding him to embark with all his troops for Lisbon; and at the same time forwarded an address to the inhabitants of Bahia, commending them for the opposition which they had made to this commander. This mandate, however, met with little attention. Don Pedro promised to become responsible to the government of Portugal, but Madeira refused to move without the sanction of the Cortes. This refusal, and the intelligence that the Cortes, offended beyond measure by the return of the squadron from Rio de Janeiro, were on the point of sending out a more efficient force, at length induced the Regent to adopt a bolder line of policy. A Manifesto, dated August the 1st, 1822, was accordingly published, wherein His Highness, while expressing his wish to maintain an amicable union with Portugal, called on the Brazilians to unite and accomplish by force, if it were necessary,

the great work of their independence. This interesting document, which was in reality written by Ledo, one of the members of the Council of Representatives, though abounding in exaggerated declamation, was on the whole not ill adapted to captivate the people to whom it was addressed. The opening passage, which was taken entire from a proclamation published in France during the time of the revolution, commenced in the following prophetic strain. "The time for deceiving mankind is past. The Governments which still wish to found their power on the alleged ignorance of the people, or on ancient errors and abuses, are destined to see the colossus of their greatness hurled down from the fragile base on which it has been erected."

A Decree was also issued on the same day, whereby all troops quartered in Brazil without the permission of Don Pedro, were declared enemies; and an order was given for the fortification of the ports. At the same time, to avoid every appearance of hostility, it was in the same instrument declared that the commercial and amicable relations existing between the two countries should remain unaltered. This was followed by a justificatory Manifesto, addressed to all the various nations and governments with which Brazil was on the terms of amity.

"I am not a rebel," wrote Don Pedro to the King, "as the enemies of your Majesty will

doubtless aver to you: *the fault rests solely with circumstances.*" At the same time, however, His Highness did not hesitate to bestow on the Cortes, who, in addition to their misgovernment of Brazil, had acted with but little consideration towards Don John, a series of epithets more distinguished by their force than their propriety. This assembly had certainly but few claims on his gratitude. As though repentant of the willingness to concession evinced during the early part of the year, they had since decided upon the indictment of such of the members of the Junta of San Paulo, as had signed the petition for the stay of the Prince; they had also declared the nullity of the Decree convoking a Council of Representatives; and had finally despatched a force of fifteen hundred men for the reinforcement of General Madeira in Bahia.

This expedition arrived at its destination in the month of August, about the same time that a Brazilian squadron, despatched from Rio for the purpose of expelling the Portuguese troops, also made its appearance there. Labatul, the Brazilian General, nevertheless, disembarked his troops on the coast without opposition, and succeeded in uniting his detachment to the native force which had maintained itself in the interior since the unfortunate combat of the 17th of February. The hostile armies, in the first instance, placed themselves in observation; nego-

tiations were afterwards entered into, but without success, and hostilities finally commenced. The division of Madeira comprised altogether no more than three thousand regular troops, and about two thousand militia; composed principally of Portuguese, devoted to the cause of the mother-country. The Brazilians were about eight thousand, and their numbers increased daily. They were, however, quite unable to cope with the disciplined troops of Madeira; and though they made repeated attacks on the city, the successful allies of the garrison as frequently compelled them to retire with considerable loss.

In Pernambuco, where the spirit of independence was stronger than in any other city of Brazil, the patriots were more fortunate, as they succeeded in ejecting the lately arrived division of "Constitutional troops," by means of negotiation alone; and, on the completion of this important step, sent down a deputation to Rio de Janeiro for the purpose of signifying their adhesion to the Regent.

The final declaration of entire independence and *separation* from Portugal, was in the meantime hastened by the despatches transmitted to Don Pedro by his Royal father. At the period of their receipt His Highness was in the vicinity of San Paulo, whither he had gone in consequence of some dissensions which

had taken place between the Andrada family and Oyenhausen, the President of the provisional Junta, and which had terminated in the expulsion of Martin Francisco from that city. The Prince left Rio on the 14th of August, after investing the Princess Royal with the Presidency, and the Ministry and Council of Representatives with the administration of affairs during his absence. Previously, however, to his arrival at his destination, whither he went by way of Santos, he was put in possession of letters from the King of Portugal, which had the instantaneous effect of inducing him to declare the entire independence, in such a decided and explicit manner, as to render all retrograde measures utterly impracticable.

It was on the 7th of September, 1822, on the margin of the Ypiranga, a small stream near the city of San Paulo, that he thus finally complied with what had long been the warmest wish of every enlightened Brazilian, and from this day the independence of the country has since held its official date. It was in the eyes of all the civilized world a memorable circumstance, and must ever form an epoch in the history of the trans-atlantic world. It was one of those great events regarding which men look rather to the result, than to the means which have led to its accomplishment. A son of the Kings of Europe had espoused the cause of

American independence, and the universal enthusiasm in his favour knew no bounds.

Scarcely had the ceremony been concluded, before His Highness again departed for Rio de Janeiro, where he arrived on the 15th of the same month, having performed the intervening journey in less time than it was ever known to have been executed before; and on the evening of his arrival appeared in the Theatre with a badge on his arm bearing the motto "*Independence or death!*" These transactions were such as could no longer leave any doubt regarding the future intentions of the Prince. The proximity of his accession to the throne became apparent to all, and it, therefore, created but little surprise, when, on the 21st of September, a Proclamation was issued by the Municipality, declaring, that it was their intention to fulfil the manifest wish of the people, in solemnly proclaiming Don Pedro "Constitutional Emperor of Brazil" on the 12th of the October following.

A Decree signed by Jozé Bonifacio, with the rubric of the Prince, was also made public on the same day, wherein it was enacted, that all the Portuguese who were willing to embrace the popular cause should manifest the same by the adoption of a badge similar to that borne by the Prince at the Theatre, on the evening of the 15th;—that all the dissentients resident in the cities of the interior should be compelled to

leave the country within four months, and those resident in the maritime cities within two months, from the period of the promulgation of the present decree; and that if any one should henceforth attack the sacred cause of Brazil, either by words or writing, he should incur the full penalties imposed on high treason.

The 12th of October, the birth-day of the Prince, being appointed for his formal recognition, the functionaries of the Court, the municipal authorities, the troops, and an immense concourse of people, were early in attendance, and the ceremony took place in the Campo de Santa Anna, where His Highness publicly declared that he accepted the title of Constitutional Emperor of Brazil, from the conviction that it was conferred on him by the will of the people. At the same time he stated that he would accept, and put in force, the Constitution which might shortly be expected from the Constituent and Legislative Assembly; provided that this document were worthy of himself and of Brazil. The troops then fired a salute, and the city was illuminated in the evening. The final solemnity of the Coronation was postponed until the 1st of December.

Don Pedro was at this period still young, and was blessed beyond the common lot of Princes in the amiable disposition of the Empress, Donna Carolina Leopoldina. Though she was not

beautiful, yet her kindness of heart and her unassuming manners were such as to endear her to all around her; and a long and brilliant future appeared to await the happy Monarch. Under a more economical management, the state of the finances had been gradually ameliorated, and the late appointment of Martin Francisco, the brother of the chief Minister, to the superintendence of this department, gave hopes that it would henceforward meet with an honest and efficient administration. The cities of Bahia, Maranham, Pará, and Monte Video were still held by Portuguese troops, supported by a numerous and well-appointed squadron; but, as it will shortly appear, the energy and foresight of Jozé Bonifacio had already provided adequate means for their speedy and effectual expulsion.

It may certainly be urged, that there was neither any privileged class of nobility whose interest it was to form a barrier around the Emperor, and to protect him in the face of maladministration, however flagrant; nor were the Clergy either placed in circumstances, or influenced by convictions, inducing them to preach the theory of the "divine right;" yet public opinion, that "Queen of the world," as Don Pedro himself styled her, in his correspondence with his father, was almost universally in his

favour, and had he governed with even common prudence, he might have been completely successful in strengthening and consolidating his newly constituted authority.

CHAPTER VII.

Further decrees of the Cortes of Lisbon — Return of the Brazilian Deputies — Character of the Andrada Ministry, and their arbitrary policy — Dissensions in the Cabinet — Deportation of Ledo, and dissolution of the Masonic Lodges — Coronation of Don Pedro — New Order of Knighthood — Sequestration of Portuguese property — Overtures to Lord Cochrane — Engagement of British seamen, and organization of a battalion of foreigners — Incorporation of the Imperial Guard of Honour — Lord Cochrane's operations off Bahia — Portuguese abandonment of Bahia — Captain Grenfell's operations at Pará — Death of Prisoners from suffocation — Lord Cochrane's seizure of Portuguese property at Maranham, and return to Rio.

During the course of the foregoing events, the Cortes of Lisbon had, in a Decree dated the 19th of September, 1822, declared : —

First, That the decree of the 3rd of June, convoking a constituent assembly in Brazil was illegal.

Second, That the Minister, or Ministers, who signed that decree, were responsible for its illegality, and should be indicted accordingly.

Third, That the government of San Paulo, in consequence of its having disobeyed the Cortes, and constituted itself independent, was a government *de facto*, and not *de jure*, and that all

voluntary obedience to its authority should be accounted criminal.

Fourth, That the power existing in the hands of the Prince should be committed to a Regency, nominated in Lisbon.

Fifth, That, unless the Prince embarked for Lisbon, within the space of a month from the receipt of this decree, he should be excluded from the throne of Portugal.

Sixth, That every military commander voluntarily obeying the actual government of Rio de Janeiro, should be accounted a traitor.

Seventh, That the Government should employ all the means in its power for the enforcement of these resolutions.

In addition to these fulminations, another Decree, dated October the 3rd, was also issued, in the name of the King, whereby all the festivities customarily held on the birth-day of the Prince were prohibited.

It is needless to say, that nearly all the Brazilian Deputies voted in opposition to these ordinances, but their voices were drowned in the clamours of the majority. Insults and threats were also continually heaped upon them by the populace; and now that an armed struggle appeared inevitable, seven of their number, the most notable of whom were Antonio Carlos de Andrada, Barato, Lino Coutinho, and Feijó, furtively embarked for Falmouth, where, on the

22nd of October, they published a solemn declaration of the motives which had forced them thus to desert the Cortes, and to quit Lisbon.

The Andrada Ministry, meanwhile, continued to maintain themselves at the head of the Government in Rio de Janeiro: yet though Brazil owed her independence, and Don Pedro his crown, chiefly to their exertions, yet it must be confessed that their subsequent administration cannot be by any means exempted from censure. Their views were comprehensive, and their intentions patriotic, but that impatient and ambitious spirit, which had inclined them to republican principles during the colonial bondage of their country, now rendered them arbitrary and intolerant on their accession to power. On the expulsion of Martin Francisco from the city of San Paulo, upwards of thirty individuals, principally people of consideration, were also banished, as opponents to independence; and amongst this number were several who, from former feuds, were the personal enemies of the Andrada family; a circumstance tending to stamp the whole transaction with the despicable spirit of revenge for private injury. Many others were also arrested in Rio de Janeiro, under pretext of alleged conspiracies, many of which were never proved to have had any existence: the system of *espionage* was carried on to a greater extent than ever, under the

absolute regime of Don John, and in several of the decrees issued for the apprehension of individuals accounted hostile to the national cause, it was, with utter disregard to the established law, enacted that the criminals should be punished with all the rigour which the peace and security of the state should seem to require. One only Journal, the "Correio de Rio de Janeiro," presumed to censure their acts; and on the 21st of October, its Editor was unexpectedly summoned to the Police Office, where he was compelled to sign a document, binding himself to discontinue his publication, and to leave the states of Brazil in one of the first vessels sailing thence.

The Andradas were not, however, long permitted to enjoy their supremacy unmolested. Ledo, the individual who had penned the Manifesto of the 1st of August, after having obtained the co-operation of Jozé Clementi Pereira, a Portuguese by birth, whose services in behalf of the popular cause have already been alluded to, had, on the proclamation of the independence, made an effort to supplant the Andradas in the favour of Don Pedro, by causing His Highness to be declared Emperor in all the Masonic lodges of the metropolis; with a proviso that he should, before ascending the throne, make oath to the Constitution expected from the Constituent Assembly. The object of this officious step was

at once seen by the Andradas, and adroitly defeated. Taking advantage of the clause, whereby the Prince was required to adopt any Constitution which the Assembly might frame, however democratic its tendency, they endeavoured to brand Ledo and his colleagues as Republicans, assuming the guise of Monarchists; and hence arose a series of dissensions, which at length reached such a height, that on the 28th of October, the Andradas sent in their resignation.

No sooner, however, were they out of office, than from the violent exertions of their partizans, and the tumults of the people, His Majesty was induced to recal them to the Cabinet, which they persisted in refusing to re-enter, unless their opponents, and certain other obnoxious individuals, were immediately banished. To this arbitrary measure Don Pedro finally assented. Ledo and his followers were exiled forthwith; and the two brothers on the second day after their resignation were reinstated, to the great apparent satisfaction of the populace, who drew the carriage of Jozé Bonifacio into town in triumph. The papers and documents appertaining to the Masonic associations in question, were subsequently seized; several of their members were put upon their trial on frivolous pretexts; and the Lodges closed. The Andradas, as well as Don Pedro, were Free masons, but having ascertained that they had less weight in this

body than the party of Ledo, they proceeded to organize a new secret Society, under the name of the "Apostalado," with the rites, and, incongruous as it may appear, with some of the denominations of the Carbonari of Italy. This Institution, which had for its object to counteract the efforts of the Masons, and to confirm Monarchy in Brazil, under the principles adopted in Europe, and which subsequently received within its bosom nearly all the Deputies of the Constituent Assembly, became in the hands of the Andradas a powerful instrument of domination. At the same time a Friar of the name of Sampayo, a man of talent, was charged on the part of the society with the management of a journal entitled the "Regulador," intended to vindicate the principles of their Institution, and to promulgate the doctrines above mentioned.

Notwithstanding this apparent success in the political schemes of the Ministry, not only were many partizans alienated by the closing of the Masonic Lodges, but the apprehensions of the patriots were aroused. The popularity of the Cabinet began rapidly to decline, and many schemes were formed on the part of its opponents, for the purpose of effecting the ejection of the Ministry.

Before the plans for this new object had reached maturity, the Coronation took place on the 1st of December, and the event was cele-

brated by great festivities and rejoicings. The enthusiasm of several of the patriots is nevertheless said to have been somewhat damped by the unexpected promulgation of a Decree, dated on the same day, in which His Majesty stated, "that being desirous to augment with his Imperial munificence the means of remunerating the services rendered to him, he had, in conformity with the constant practice of the august Monarchs his predecessors, determined to found a new Order of Knighthood, to be denominated, *The Order of the Crusader*."

This unexpected resumption of a feudal usage, the unfortunate results of which had been so fully exemplified since its adoption in Brazil, during the preceding reign, naturally became productive of much dissatisfaction; more especially among all such of the patriots as were inclined to republican principles. In the provinces of the north this was even more apparent than in Rio de Janeiro; and a pamphlet was there published, denominated an "Analysis of the Decree of the 1st of December," wherein the author contended, that all such services as those alluded to in the document in question, were rendered to the nation rather than to the Emperor; and that consequently, all decrees for their recompense ought in justice to emanate from the Deputies of the nation only. Throughout the entire pamphlet there was also much exaggerated declamation and complaint against all that had

hitherto been done by the new Administration; and it appears beyond a doubt that it tended materially to augment the disaffection existing both in Bahia and Pernambuco to the still uncemented authority of His Imperial Majesty.

The exterior relations of the country were, however, still the paramount object with the public as well as with the Administration; and the necessity of expelling the Portuguese forces from all the various points of the empire of which they still held possession, having already met with the timely attention of Jozé Bonifacio, by a Decree dated the 11th of December, all property in Brazil belonging to Portuguese subjects, was sequestrated. The Marine force was also augmented, and overtures were made to Lord Cochrane, at this time residing on his estate at Quintera, in Chili, to take the command of a Brazilian squadron. This his Lordship agreed to do, on the same terms as those on which he had already commanded the Chilian Fleet; with the further proviso, that the sum of sixty thousand dollars, owing to him by the Chilian Government, should be defrayed by the Emperor, in case his Lordship should render services to Brazil.

During the interim preceding his arrival, the greatest activity succeeded to the inertness formerly apparent in the dock-yard. A voluntary subscription for the re-inforcement of the Navy

was entered into with unexampled enthusiasm; all the unemployed vessels of the Government were fitted out for war; and the only seventy-four whose timbers were judged to be sound, was in a manner re-built. It was, however, found utterly impossible to equip these vessels with native seamen, the coasting trade having been hitherto carried on exclusively by Portuguese; and orders were consequently sent to Felisberto Brant, who had been appointed Brazilian Chargé d'Affaires in London, to engage a number of both officers and seamen, on terms highly advantageous to the parties. The Military establishment was also augmented, and on the 8th of January a Decree was issued for the organization of a battalion of foreigners.

About the same time, the formation of a body guard of yeomanry, entitled the Imperial Guard of Honour, was effected, the members of which were selected at the pleasure of the Emperor, from amongst the youth of the principal families in Rio. By the terms of this Institution, which was productive of a far greater sensation in the metropolis than the decree of the 1st of December, all the individuals selected were, whatever might be their principles, required to take an oath *of implicit obedience to His Imperial Majesty;* and many who would gladly have avoided the honour thus thrust upon them, found themselves placed in the unenviable situation of

pledges in behalf of the sentiments of their connexions.

A series of events was, however, on the point of occurring, which for a time, at least, turned all the speculations of the public in a very different direction. Lord Cochrane arrived in Rio on the 21st of March, 1823, on which day he entered the port with some officers in a brig, afterwards named the Bahia, and immediately hoisted his flag on board the line-of-battle ship the Pedro Primeiro, as first Admiral of Brazil. On the 29th of the same month, the port of Bahia was declared in a state of blockade; and fortunately, a number of officers and seamen arrived at this juncture from England, in the English merchant vessel the Lindsay, and enabled his Lordship to put to sea on the 3rd of April, with the following squadron :—

Pedro Primeiro, 74 guns
Piranga - - 46 ,,
Maria de Gloria, 32 ,,
Liberal - - 22 ,,

and two vessels intended as fire-ships. There yet remaining in port, to join as soon as ready, the Paraguassu, 42 guns, and Nitheroy of 36. This latter vessel having joined the squadron on the 29th of April, the coast of Bahia was discovered on the 1st of May; and on the 4th, the Portuguese squadron in line of battle. It consisted of one line of-battle ship, two frigates, two store-ships

armed, and as effective as frigates, four corvettes, two brigs, and two smaller craft. The disparity of force was great, yet Lord Cochrane immediately bore down, broke their line, and the action became general for some time; when a circumstance occurred on board the Pedro Primeiro, which compelled his Lordship to bear away with his vessels, followed by the enemy's two frigates Constituiçaõ and Perola. Two marines, natives of Portugal, who had been stationed to hand up the powder, had become intoxicated, and on attempting to remove them, they threatened to fire the magazine. This naturally led to much confusion. His Lordship also observed with great annoyance, that the fire of the Pedro Primeiro was extremely ill-directed, from want of skill in the crew. There were only one hundred and seventy Englishmen on board, the remainder of the men consisting of a crowd of vagabonds picked up in the streets of Rio, and one hundred and thirty black marines; a newly raised corps composed principally of emancipated slaves. Under these circumstances, the Admiral judged it most advisable to retreat, and adopt fresh measures for the enforcement of his orders, which were the usual orders of war, "to take, sink, burn, and destroy." He accordingly proceeded to the Morro de San Paulo, a small port about thirty miles to the southward of Bahia, where he

transferred the whole of the English officers and seamen of the squadron to the Pedro Primeiro; and, with the exception of the Maria de Gloria corvette, laid up all the other vessels. The two former, luckily for Brazil, were excellent sailers, and maintained the blockade of Bahia with such vigilance, as to cut off nearly all supplies from that city; and that in the face of an enemy infinitely superior in numbers, in the rainy season of the year, and at a time when the seamen were badly supplied with provisions. The Portuguese made repeated attempts to supply themselves with farinha, a kind of coarse flour, forming the staple food of the inhabitants of Brazil, by sending down smacks to San Matheos, in the captaincy of Espirito Santo, for that article. These, however, rarely escaped the two cruizers, and above a dozen of them fell into the hands of Lord Cochrane. Occasionally the Portuguese squadron would come out, and chase the two vessels as far as the Morro de San Paulo, but they always retired again without committing hostilities. At length, on the night of the 12th of June, the Admiral determined on entering the port of Bahia, with the intention of cutting out, by a *coup de main*, the Constituiçaõ frigate of 52 guns, at anchor with the Portuguese squadron. For this purpose, besides his own vessels, he took the Paraguassu, which had joined him some days before,

and the Maria de Gloria, and at midnight proceeded up the harbour with a light breeze, and was hailed by the guard-boats, and subsequently by the Constituiçaõ. At this crisis, unfortunately, a dead calm came on, the tide was beginning to ebb, and the vessels of Lord Cochrane were again gradually swept out of the bay; a single shot only having been fired from one of the forts. The blockade, however, continued with the same rigour as before. A battalion of troops, under the command of Colonel José Joaquim de Lima e Silva, had also been sent up previous to the expedition of Lord Cochrane, for the purpose of reinforcing the division under General Labatut. Thus besieged by land, and blockaded by sea, Bahia was at last reduced to a state of starvation. The slaves were absolutely dying in the streets from hunger, and the Portuguese were at length compelled to evacuate the city. They accordingly sailed on the 3rd of July, 1823; taking with them nearly all the moveable riches of the city, and the church plate. The sick and the wounded were also taken on board, and most of the merchants embarked with their whole property. Lord Cochrane immediately followed them with the Pedro Primeiro, Paraguassu, Nitheroy, and Maria de Gloria, but these vessels having separated during the night, on the following morning the Admiral found himself alone in the midst of the enemy. Such,

however, were the terrors of his name, and the anxiety of the Portuguese to avoid a conflict, that they allowed him to make a succession of captures ; during the course of which one vessel only, a charrua, fired a broadside upon him. The top-masts of the vessels taken were immediately cut away, but from a want of hands to keep them, several made their escape. The weather, which was stormy, accompanied by drizzling rain, enabled them to elude the vigilance of the Admiral, and several of the most valuable prizes were thus lost to the captors. Such as were retained were sent under the charge of an officer to Pernambuco. Fortunately for Brazil, the private signals and instructions of the Portuguese Admiral were captured on board the Gran Para, the following morning ; by which Lord Cochrane learned, that part of the transports with troops were to proceed to Maranham, and the remainder, in case of separation, to rendezvous at the island of Fernando de Noronha. They were accordingly met some days afterwards near that island, and chased thence to the north of the line. Finding it impossible, however, to separate the more valuable vessels from the rest of the fleet, and aware of the urgent importance of clearing the entire Brazilian territory from the Portuguese forces, his Lordship determined on bearing away for Maranham, though he had no specific orders to

that effect from the government. Captain Taylor, the Commander of the Nitheroy, in the meantime, followed in the track of the Portuguese squadron to the very mouth of the Tagus; and succeeded in taking several valuable prizes, which were successively sent to Rio de Janeiro for adjudication.

Lord Cochrane, meanwhile, succeeded in conducting his vessel through a most perilous and intricate navigation into Maranham, a port into which no line-of-battle ship had ever preceded the Pedro Primeiro. Here he perceived that a number of transports with troops had already arrived, and immediate preparations were made for the blockade of the port. This, however, became unnecessary, as the Provisional Junta came on board to deliver up the town, and to testify their adhesion to the cause of independence. Possession was consequently taken of the brig-of-war Don Miguel, and a schooner; as well as of all the Portuguese merchant vessels in the harbour, excepting such as were destined for the conveyance of troops to the mother-country; and an order was given for the confiscation of all property belonging to Portuguese resident in Portugal.

The brig Don Miguel was afterwards sent, under the command of Captain Grenfell, with ninety-six men, to reduce Pará; in which he succeeded by means of a stratagem. Having

arrived before the town, he summoned it to surrender, intimating at the same time, that Lord Cochrane was off the mouth of the river with a powerful squadron to enforce the summons, in case of opposition. The consequence was, that the city submitted, and all obnoxious individuals were expelled, before the deceit was found out. Here several merchantmen were captured; in addition to the Imperatriz, a fine new fifty-gun frigate. The good fortune of Captain Grenfell was not, however, uninterrupted. A number of anarchists, denominating themselves partizans of Don Pedro, in conjunction with a division of undisciplined troops, made an attempt to depose the Provisional Junta: which body being thus circumstanced, at once claimed the assistance of Captain Grenfell; who landed with his men, and after having quelled the insurrection, and, with the aid of the authorities, made a considerable number of prisoners, shot five of the ring-leaders in the public square. Thence he returned on board, where on the same evening he received an order from the President of the Junta, to prepare a vessel large enough to contain about two hundred of the prisoners. A ship of six hundred tons burthen was accordingly selected; but instead of limiting himself to the number indicated, the President sent on board, as it was afterwards ascertained, two hundred and fifty-three: who,

in the absence of Captain Grenfell, were all crammed into the hold of the prison-ship, and placed under a guard of fifteen Brazilian soldiers.

Crowded until almost unable to breathe, and suffering alike from heat and thirst, the poor wretches attempted to force their way on deck, but were repulsed by the guard, who, after firing upon them, and fastening down the hatchway, threw a piece of ordnance across it, and effectually debarred all egress. The stifling sensation caused by this exclusion of air drove the suffering crowd to utter madness; and many are said to have lacerated and mangled each other in the most horrible manner. Suffocation with all its agonies succeeded. The aged and the young, the strong and the feeble, the assailant and his antagonist, all sank down exhausted, and in the agonies of death. In the hope of alleviating their sufferings, a stream of water was at length directed into the hold, and towards morning the tumult abated, but from a cause which had not been anticipated. Of all the two hundred and fifty-three, four only were found alive, who had escaped destruction from having concealed themselves behind a water-butt.

Lord Cochrane, during the interim, remained in Maranham, where one of his first measures was to satisfy the demands of the Indian troops,

recruited in the province of Piauhy, with the intention of marching upon Maranham, and who, although they had rendered no service, were clamorous for pay. His Lordship, therefore, sent them the sum of sixty contos of reis, found in the Treasury. Having subsequently embarked on board the Pombinha, a beautiful Portuguese ship in the harbour, such goods as, after a proper examination at the Custom-house, were found to belong to Portuguese merchants resident in Portugal, and having also despatched his other prizes to Rio de Janeiro, he prepared to follow them. A quantity of the merchandize seized in the Custom-house, and also several of the prize vessels, were at once redeemed on account of the proprietors, and the amount paid over to Lord Cochrane.

His Lordship finally sailed from Maranham on the 20th of September, 1823, and arrived in Rio on the 9th of November following; having had the satisfaction of seeing the entire Brazilian territory, with the exception of the Banda Oriental, cleared of its enemies, principally by means of his own exertions. In Rio de Janeiro his services appeared to have given the most entire satisfaction; and on his arrival in that city, he was informed that the Emperor had, as a testimony of particular approbation, already conferred upon him the rank and title of Marquis of Maranham.

CHAPTER VIII.

Affairs of Portugal—Decree for the Banishment of the Queen—Invasion of the Peninsula by the French, under the Duc d'Angoulême—Influence and Agency of the Clergy in Portugal—Counter-revolution, and consequent Dissolution of the Cortes of Lisbon—Convocation of the Constituent Assembly in Rio de Janeiro—Spirit of its Members—Speech of Don Pedro—Subsequent Discussion—Coalition of the Royalists and Patriots against the Andradas, and consequent dismissal of the latter from the Cabinet—New Ministry, and their Measures—Factious Opposition of the Andradas—Arrival of Commissioners from Portugal—Dissensions between Brazilians and Portuguese — The Military March to San Christovão, and the Members of the Assembly declare themselves in permanent Session—Negotiations with the Government, and subsequent forcible Dissolution of the Assembly.

The Constituent Cortes of Lisbon closed their labours on the 4th of November, 1822, and were immediately succeeded by the Legislative Assembly; the Brazilian Deputies remaining in Portugal being still retained as the representatives of Brazil. Several of the Portuguese members were supplanted by others, but the spirit of the assembly remained essentially the same. The intention to reduce again to subjection the rebellious provinces of Brazil still existed in full vigour; but the civil dissensions

which now began to agitate the mother-country, turned the immediate attention of her legislators towards another quarter. A law had been passed, by which all public functionaries of the Administration were required to make oath to the Constitution prior to the 3d of December, 1822, under pain of banishment. The King, who was as easily ruled by the Cortes of Lisbon, as he had previously been by his ministers in Rio de Janeiro, had acceded to this condition on his arrival; but the proud spirit of the Queen was not thus easily subdued. She distinctly and energetically refused compliance: a frigate was in consequence prepared for her removal, even before the expiration of the allotted time, and an order was finally issued in the name of the King for her banishment.

It is well known that this sentence was never carried into execution. Under the plea of ill-health, the Queen demanded a respite of a few months, and before the period which she herself had appointed for her departure arrived, the Cortes were too busily occupied in preparations for external war, to bestow even a thought upon Her Majesty.

His most Christian Majesty, Louis XVIII. had long been apprehensive, lest the rage for popular government at present agitating the Peninsula, should extend to his own dominions,

and in alliance with Ferdinand VII. he willingly consented to despatch an army of 100,000 men, under the command of the Duc d'Angoulême into Spain, with the alleged intent of preserving that country from the anarchy towards which its fanatical representatives appeared to be hurrying it. The Constitutional party in Spain nevertheless, took up arms against these officious philanthropists, and the Cortes of Lisbon resolved to second their efforts. Even such as had been among the least scrupulous when legislating for the trans-atlantic portion of the kingdom, were now found among the foremost in repelling all attempts at foreign dictation regarding their own affairs. First amongst the advocates for hostilities was the Deputy Moura; hitherto noted, above all others, for his exaggerated animosity to the cause of Brazil. "There is no want of money," exclaimed this acute logician; "there is plenty of money in Portugal, and being expended in war it remains in the country." To an assembly entertaining the economical sentiments prevalent in the Congress of Lisbon, such an argument alone must have proved irresistible.

Whilst, however, the members of the assembly in question were thus legislating, their opponents, the absolutists, were acting. Intelligence of the unanimous election of Don Pedro as Emperor arrived in Lisbon, and this circum-

stance was by the partizans of the ancient system of Government represented as attributable solely to the mis-government of the democratic Cortes. The clergy, whose long-established privileges had, in several instances, been infringed upon by the existing legislature, repeated the cry which every where obtained an easy credence. Where the press is comparatively unknown, the influence of the priesthood is necessarily great, and the Portuguese clergy were moreover possessed of considerable temporal sway; fully two-thirds of the landed property in Portugal being at this period in their possession. They were thus, from many reasons, enabled to facilitate the counter-revolution, and by pointing out the existence of the Cortes as the only obstacle to a reconciliation between the King and Don Pedro, or, in other words, between Portugal and Brazil, they succeeded in inducing a hope, that were the monarch reinvested with all his ancient powers, the mother-country might even yet re-monopolize the commerce, if not the government, of all the Brazilian territory.

Such was the state of the public mind, when, in February, 1823, the Count de Amarante planted the standard of rebellion in favour of absolute government in Villa Real. In the commencement of his enterprise, he was defeated by the constitutional forces under General

Luiz do Rego, the ex-Governor of Pernambuco, and driven into the Spanish territory, where he made an offer to the Duc d'Angoulême to combine his movements with those of the invading army. His Royal Highness declined the proposal, as incompatible with the relations of peace existing between France and Portugal; yet intimated to General do Rego, who had crossed the Portuguese frontier in pursuit of the Count de Amarante, that the constitutional forces would be held responsible for any acts of hostility committed against the French army.

The counter-revolution was, however, too far advanced to receive any material check from this affected forbearance on the part of the French. On the 27th of May, a regiment of infantry, which had left General do Rego on the frontier, was met by an officer who had formerly commanded it, but who had been dismissed by the present Government, and by him the troops were induced to declare against the Constitution. The regiment then proceeded to Villa Franca, where the Infante Don Miguel, who had secretly left the capital, placed himself at their head, and issued a Proclamation calling upon the nation to deliver the King. The intelligence arrived in Lisbon the same day, and, on the following one, General Sepulveda, who had been invested with full powers over the forces

in the capital, proceeded to join the Prince. All the troops, with the exception of one regiment, followed; and though the King for a while affected to deprecate the proceedings of a party, the leaders of which were suspected to be his own emissaries, he eventually abandoned Lisbon, placed himself at the head of the retrogaders, and after again entering the metropolis, and for some time amusing the people with promises of another Constitution, finally re-established the old system of absolute government.

Thus, on the 3d of June, 1823, abruptly terminated the Session of the celebrated Cortes of 1820. Unwise in their policy towards Brazil, it has lain within the scope of the present narrative to bring forward only such of their acts as can be but ill defended; yet it would doubtless be unjust on this account to condemn their entire administration. Their intentions were patriotic, and had their efforts received a more judicious direction, instead of having, as at present, been the means of creating a prejudice against Constitutional Government, from the baneful effects of which Portugal is still suffering, they might have been hailed alike as the benefactors of their country and their race.

In Brazil, where they had but few claims on the gratitude of the inhabitants, the intelligence of the foregoing events was received by the

Royalists with rejoicing, and even by the patriots without any material dissatisfaction. From the labours of the constituent and legislative Assembly, already convened in Rio, the latter party looked for a more satisfactory code of fundamental law than could under any circumstances be expected from Portugal. This constituent body, which was first assembled on the 17th of April, counted in its numbers fifty-two deputies; and, after a series of preparatory sessions, it was decided that their labours should commence on the 3d of May, the anniversary of the discovery of Brazil, by Cabral. Before entering upon the proceedings of the new legislation, it may, however, be desirable to give some general idea of its elements. The majority was formed almost exclusively of Magistrates, Judges of primary jurisdiction, Juris-consults, and the higher Dignitaries of the Church, principally men of upwards of fifty years of age, contracted in their notions, and inclined to royalist principles. The minority, consisting chiefly of the subordinate Clergy, and of landed proprietors of small fortune, were eager in their aspirations after liberty; but liberty of that vague and undefined cast, which every one interpreted after his own fashion, and according to the measure of his own feelings. At heart they were philanthropists, yet neither they, nor their opponents, were characterized by much

practical aptitude for their allotted functions. Inhabitants of districts, where their superior learning had hitherto caused them to be regarded as oracles, each brought with him exaggerated ideas of his own importance, combined in most instances with an utter ignorance of the tactics usually put in force in deliberative assemblies; and, unless the three Andradas, who were all elected deputies, be excepted, there were few, if any, individuals above mediocrity among them.

On the 3d of May the Session was opened by the Emperor in person, who addressed the Deputies at some length on the occasion. After laying before them a rather overcharged exposition concerning the finances, the marine and land forces, the new Empire, and the reforms instituted since his accession to the throne, His Imperial Majesty thus concluded:—

"When I was consecrated and crowned on the 1st of last December, I made oath as constitutional Emperor, and more particularly as perpetual Defender of this Empire, *to defend with my sword, the country, the nation, and the Constitution, if this last were worthy of Brazil and of me.* I now solemnly ratify this promise, persuaded that you will aid me to fulfil it, in forming a Constitution at once wise and equitable; dictated by reason, and not by caprice; looking only to the public good, which depends on a

fundamental law, established on the bases which experience has demonstrated as the fittest to ensure liberty to the people, and strength to the authorities. We have need of a Constitution where the powers may be so divided and defined, that no one branch can arrogate to itself the prerogatives of another; a Constitution which may be an insurmountable barrier against all invasion of the Royal authority, whether aristocratic or popular, which will overthrow anarchy, and cherish the tree of liberty; beneath whose shade we shall see the union and the independence of this empire flourish. All the Constitutions founded on the models of those of 1791, and 1792, have been acknowledged as too abstract, and too metaphysical for execution. This has been proved by the example of France, and more recently by those of Spain and Portugal. The true principles with which the members of this Assembly are imbued, give me hopes that the Constitution which you will form, will be worthy of my Imperial sanction, and appropriate to the exigencies and civilization of the Brazilian nation. In a word, that it will excite the admiration of other nations, and even of our enemies, who will consecrate the triumph of our principles in adopting them."

As might have been anticipated, the clause wherein His Majesty engaged himself to defend the Constitution, in case it were worthy

of him and of Brazil, when coupled with the circumstances which had given rise to the late banishment of Ledo and his colleagues, became the cause of many serious apprehensions; and on the subsequent proposal of a vote of thanks to the Emperor, Deputy Araujo Lima observed, that the tenour of His Majesty's speech was entirely satisfactory, with the exception of the words in question. "It could not be supposed," he said, "that the Assembly of Deputies would seek to form a Constitution which should be *unworthy of Brazil*."

Antonio Carlos de Andrada remarked in reply, that the words alluded to were perfectly constitutional; that no one was obliged to defend what was unworthy of himself, and that he was of opinion, that the Assembly ought to declare its intention to form a Constitution worthy of Brazil, and consequently worthy of the Emperor.

Deputy Maia then observed, that in order that time might not be lost in forming a Constitution, which might not after all be accepted, it was to be desired that His Majesty would succinctly and briefly establish the conditions, under which he was willing to accede to the social compact; but that even these conditions should not be admitted, unless they were deemed just. Another Deputy maintained, that notwithstanding this apparent attempt at dictation on the part of the Emperor, if a liberal Constitution were formed, His Majesty would

doubtless accept of it. Moniz Tavares, ex-deputy to the Cortes of Lisbon, coincided in opinion with the last speaker, and observed, that in case the Emperor should disapprove of the Constitution when formed, he would doubtless accede to the suggestions of his conscience, and resign the Imperial authority.

This last clause instantly gave rise to the liveliest animadversions on the part of both Antonio Carlos de Andrada, and the Minister Jozé Bonifacio. After defending the language of Don Pedro, the latter then proceeded to anathematize the spirit of democracy with considerable warmth. He dilated on the unfortunate condition of Spanish America, for fourteen years involved in civil war; he dwelt on the sufferings of France, assuaged only by the return to a monarchical form of Government; and, after alluding to the present distracted state of the Peninsula, concluded in the following words:—"As far as my voice can go, I protest in the face of the Assembly, and of the entire people, that we will form a Constitution not democratic, but monarchical; and I myself will be the first to concede to the Emperor that which is really his due."

Several Deputies spoke in reply, but the ministerial party prevailed, and the Assembly stated, in the vote of thanks, that its members, with the assistance of divine Providence, hoped

they might be enabled to frame a Constitution which should be alike worthy of the Brazilian nation, of the Emperor, and of themselves.

The Andradas were as yet all powerful. Profiting by their influence in the "Apostolado," wherein Don Pedro himself was President, they there discussed beforehand all the matters subsequently submitted to the deliberation of the Assembly; and a plan for dissolving the House, in case it should refuse to submit to this system of dictation, is even said to have been here devised by the Andradas themselves. The period of their final overthrow was, however, fast approaching. The patriots were already alienated, and the Royalists, though at present supporting the administration, had all along regarded its leaders with suspicion. A casual circumstance contributed to hasten the crisis. On the 20th of June, 1823, Moniz Tavares laid before the Assembly the project of a law for the expulsion of all adopted Portuguese, who might be deemed hostile to the cause of the Empire, and Antonio Carlos spoke in favour of the measure. The Royalists, who were apprehensive lest this blow might be aimed at themselves, entered into a coalition with the patriots, with the object of ejecting the Andradas from the Ministry, and the ear of the Emperor was easily gained. A fall from

his horse, whereby his life was apparently endangered, prevented his attendance to public business for several weeks, but no sooner did he find himself in a state of convalescence, than the Andradas were dismissed; an event which took place on the 17th of July.

Their successors, who were both chosen from the Royalist party, though not highly popular, had at least, up to the period of their elevation borne the repute of being well intentioned. They were Jozé Joaquim Carneiro de Campos, afterwards Marquis de Caravellas, as Minister of the Empire; and Manoel Jacinto Nogueira de Gama, afterwards Marquis de Baependy, as Minister of Finance.

Their appointment was, as a matter of course, succeeded by an immediate change of policy throughout all the relations of the Government. Not only were the political prosecutions instituted by the Andradas against the alleged opponents of the independence, abandoned, but, although both Brazil and Portugal were at this moment in a state of open and declared war, an Imperial order, dated the 2nd of August, was despatched to the provisional Government of Bahia, requiring its members to enlist, and embark for Rio de Janeiro, all the Portuguese prisoners of war who should voluntarily wish to engage in the service of Brazil. In the censure of this impolitic act none were more acrimonious

than the Andradas. On their dismissal from the Cabinet they instituted a periodical, entitled the "Tamoyo," the name of an Indian tribe noted for their hostility to the Portuguese, in which, while another individual figured as the responsible editor, they covertly attacked the existing administration. The publication was well written, and bore evidence to both the extent and variety of their literary attainments; yet the free, if not democratic principles which it advocated, were in strange discordance with those by which the Andradas themselves had been actuated during the time of their Ministry. There was also an unbecoming petulance manifested, whenever their former policy happened to come under the censure of their contemporaries; and while exaggerated eulogiums were passed on their own administration, the errors of their successors were attributed to the very worst motives. The enlistment of the Portuguese prisoners of war had naturally rendered the patriots suspicious, lest an attempt might even yet be made to replace the two countries on their former relative footing; and this suspicion was openly fomented by the writings of the Andradas, whose advances to their ancient partizans were sufficiently obvious. In the House of Deputies, their conduct was also characterized by a similar spirit. From the day on which Jozé Bonifacio and Martin Fran-

cisco were dismissed from the Ministry, they were ever found in the ranks of the opposition; where their ascendency was as constantly exercised to the prejudice of their successors.

It was at this juncture, that, on the 7th of September, a Portuguese brig, on board of which was the Marshal Pinto de França, arrived with despatches from the Emperor, and after hoisting a flag of truce, entered the harbour of Rio de Janeiro. These despatches His Majesty, however, refused to receive, unless the independence of Brazil were acknowledged as the basis of all future negotiations. The Marshal had not been empowered to enter into any stipulations on this head, and though he himself was allowed to disembark, in consequence of his infirm health, the remainder of his suite were prevented from holding any communication with the city. A Portuguese corvette arrived a few days afterwards with the Count de Rio Maior, and other Commissioners deputed by the Portuguese government, to arrange a settlement of existing differences, and without any preliminary negotiation, or even hoisting a flag of truce, entered the port.

With these Commissioners the Emperor also refused to treat, except on the conditions already demanded from Pinto de França; and as they had no authority to accede to those terms, they were not only prohibited from all communication

with the shore, but as they had entered under a hostile flag, the vessel was detained as a prize, and the Count de Rio Maior, and his suite, subsequently compelled to re-embark for Lisbon in a packet.

Whilst, however, from motives of expediency, the Emperor treated the entire body of the Commissioners thus unceremoniously, and even made an affectation of refusing to open the private letters from his relative, he is, with every appearance of truth, charged with having held secret communications with the Count de Rio Maior. Be this matter as it may, the entire official correspondence relative to the transaction was forthwith transmitted to the Chamber of Deputies, as an indubitable testimony of His Majesty's good faith towards the cause of the independence.

This Assembly had of late been the cause of more than ordinary anxiety to the Emperor, since the present Cabinet was becoming daily more and more embarrassed in its career, through the factious opposition of the Andradas. As it has been before stated, the majority of the Assembly were individuals of contracted notions, who, had the leaders of the Ministry been possessed of even common administrative talent, might have been rendered entirely conformable to the will and influence of the supreme authority; yet neither Don Pedro, nor

his Ministers were apparently qualified to undertake their direction. On the other hand, the Andradas were fluent, bold, and subtle; and by their intimate acquaintance with parliamentary forms, and a certain declamatory eloquence, which perhaps more from its novelty than from its intrinsic merit, gave them the reputation of being the first orators in Brazil, they were able to thwart nearly all the measures of their opponents. This they were generally most unscrupulous in doing, even at the expense of their consistency. On the occasion of a debate relative to the title conferred on Lord Cochrane, for instance, it was insinuated by some member of the minority, that His Majesty had in this instance infringed on the attributes of the legislature; an opinion which was instantly echoed by Antonio Carlos, who, notwithstanding the previous fervour of his loyalty, remarked, that nobility unaccompanied by any corresponding power, was an institution of which he could not comprehend the object; and that he therefore hoped that an intimation might be conveyed to Don Pedro, requesting him to confer no more titles, unless with the sanction of the House of Deputies.

These petty bickerings, which were of continual occurrence, had, when combined with the domination of the Andradas, the natural effect of irritating the mind of His Imperial Majesty,

and a casualty which occurred shortly afterwards, brought matters to a crisis. A letter had appeared in a periodical entitled the "Sentinella," containing some remarks to the prejudice of the Portuguese military, incorporated in the army of Brazil. The result was, that on the evening of the 5th of November, two officers of artillery, both natives of Portugal, entered the shop of a Brazilian apothecary, named David Pamplona, whom they suspected of being its author, and maltreated the unfortunate man in such a brutal manner, as nearly to deprive him of life.

At any other period the outrage might perhaps have passed over without particular notice; but in the present excited state of public feeling, it was magnified into an outrage on the nation. The sufferer demanded justice from the House of Deputies; and the Andradas, who had all along inveighed against the engagement of the Portuguese military, and who were happy in the present opportunity of turning the public wrath against their opponents, most loudly demanded vengeance on the aggressors. In the "Tamoyo" also, their language was equally violent. Insinuations were thrown out that unless the Government should turn aside from the anti-national path in which it was at present treading, its power would be of short continuance, and the example of Charles the First

of England was alluded to, by way of warning to Don Pedro. The military, in the meantime, espoused the cause of their comrades, and a regiment of infantry, the commanding officer of which was known to be on terms of cordiality with the Emperor, marched to Santo Christovaõ, where they were shortly afterwards joined by the remainder of the army. Here they were favourably received; a circumstance which gave rise to the most serious apprehensions on the part of the Assembly, who began to regard their political existence as in peril. In this respect, their suspicions were only too well grounded. Mortified beyond measure by the ascendency of the Andradas, His Majesty resolved either on their expulsion, or on the dissolution of the entire Chamber. The Ministers being unwilling to countenance either of these bold measures, were immediately dismissed; and on the 10th of November replaced by individuals of royalist principles, and of a less scrupulous cast. On the same day an immense crowd began to congregate about the House of Deputies; and, at the instance of Deputy Alencar, were admitted into the chamber. Here, however, their presence naturally led to great confusion, and the President was prematurely compelled to close the Session.

On the following morning a message from the Emperor was laid before the House; wherein it

was stated, that the officers of the troops encamped at San Christovão required satisfaction from the Assembly, for the attack made on their honour, as well as on the intentions of His Majesty in various periodicals. In consequence of which, Antonio Carlos de Andrada proposed that the House should declare itself in permanent session; and that a deputation should be sent to inquire from the government the motives of the late movements of the military force; both of which propositions were, after a brief discussion, approved of; and the result was transmitted by two Secretaries to Don Pedro, with a request for information from the Government regarding the nature of the satisfaction required; the number of officers who had urged the complaint; and also, which were the offensive periodicals.

To these inquiries the Government somewhat evasively made reply, "that as to the officers, they were unanimous; that the offensive periodicals were the Tamoyo, and the Sentinella; and the individuals complained of, the three Andradas, as Editors of the first, and collaborators of the second; and, moreover, leaders of a seditious party:" a communication, which, after some discussion, it was resolved to submit to the consideration of a Committee appointed for the purpose.

During the entire night of the 11th, which is

still emphatically and characteristically termed by the patriots "the Night of the agony," the Deputies remained at their stations, notwithstanding the most poignant apprehensions had gradually succeeded to the excitement which induced them to declare their session permanent. Inexperienced in the march of political events, and with the massacre of the "Praça do Commercio" still fresh in their recollection, they already regarded themselves as martyrs in the cause of their country; and many of the Priests proceeded to confess themselves to each other, under the impression that ere many hours had elapsed, their lives might probably fall a sacrifice to the wrath of the infuriate soldiery. To their credit it may, however, be remarked, that in the face of this apparent danger, they betrayed no symptoms either of wavering or trepidation. On the contrary, by mutual example and exhortation, they sustained each other's flagging spirits, and when the following day dawned their numbers were still undiminished.

Early on the morning of the 12th, Antonio Carlos proposed that the Minister of the Empire should be summoned before the Assembly; and on being put to the vote, it was decided in the affirmative. On his arrival, the President inquired from His Excellency, if he knew the number of officers who had complained to the Emperor. His Excellency replied, that he was unacquainted with the number; but that they

were many, and that His Majesty had himself affirmed, that his physical and moral existence had been attacked in one of the numbers of the Tamoyo.

President. Did His Excellency know the motives which had led to the assemblage of the troops in San Christovão?—had they all been summoned there, or had a part of them gone there voluntarily?

Answer. His Excellency knew nothing, excepting that they were assembled there to prevent any disorders in the capital, and to preserve the subordination of the troops. Any further inquiries on this head could be best replied to by the Minister of War.

Question. Had orders been given for the arrest of any Editors of periodicals?

Answer. His Excellency believed that some orders to this effect had been given to the Minister of Justice.

Question. Were the troops under arms?

Answer. His Excellency did not know.

Question. Had His Majesty demanded, or proposed the dismissal of the Andradas?

Answer. Such a request had been made, but he had stated to his Majesty that the application was inadmissible.

Question. Was His Excellency aware how long the troops would be retained at San Christovão, or what was their ultimate purpose?

Answer. It was considered imprudent to quit their station, until the Assembly had acceded to their wishes; and the troops were perfectly unanimous.

On the termination of these interrogatories, the Minister retired, and an acrimonious discussion ensued; during the course of which it was proposed, that the troops should receive an order to retire to such a distance from the city as might leave the assembly unrestricted in the exercise of their deliberations. In proportion, however, as the danger began to be regarded as more imminent, the citizens who had hitherto crowded the galleries, and on whom the Andradas placed much reliance, began to disperse, and in a short time there were few remaining in the House, except the members. The Royalists, and more particularly such as had been noted for their hostility to the Andradas, were overjoyed at this circumstance, and made no attempt to conceal their exultation. Jozé Bonifacio, however, against whom their virulence was principally directed, bore the ordeal with fortitude. It was on this memorable occasion that, in the words of a young author, who has since adverted to the circumstance;—

"Then rose that brave old man, and though the tears
Ran trickling down his cheeks, erect he stood;
'This head is grey,' cried he, 'and all my years
Have been devoted to my country's good:

Now will I die for her ; the purple flood
That fills this aged heart shall freely flow,
And glut the craving of your murderous brood ;
Yet mark ye, from this blood when I am low
A Hydra will spring up, and well avenge the blow !' "

Exhausted with his emotions, and overcome with fatigue from having sat up all the preceding night, he soon after retired from the chamber.

The Emperor, in the meantime, finding that the three brothers still maintained their predominance, mounted on horseback, rode into town at the head of a body of cavalry, and after surrounding the chamber with a military force, and planting cannon before its walls, sent up Brigadier Moraes to the Assembly, with an order for its instantaneous dissolution. The President attempted to enter the proceeding of Moraes in the records of the House, but not even this was permitted ; and along with all his colleagues, he was compelled immediately to retire.

Antonio Carlos and Martin Francisco de Andrada, as well as Deputies Rocha and Montezuma, were arrested on the stair-case ; and in company with Jozé Bonifacio, who was also apprehended in his own house, conveyed on board a vessel almost ready for sea, and without either trial or examination, transported to France. Thus terminated for at least a series of years, the political career of the Andradas

On the impartial Chronicler, it is incumbent to confess, that when in power they were arbitrary, and when out of place factious; yet their views were ever great, and their probity unimpeachable. It was by Jozé Bonifacio, that the uncertain and inconstant resolutions of Don Pedro were irrevocably fixed. He it was, who, by contrasting the supremacy over a nascent Empire, with that over a decaying kingdom, and who by representing the loss of Brazil as inevitable in case of the Prince's departure, again kindled up the expiring ambition of the youthful potentate, and led on to the accomplishment of a revolution, effected with but little sacrifice, and almost unstained by blood. The disinterestedness of both himself and his brother Martin Francisco is, perhaps, equally deserving of eulogy. Title and wealth had alike been placed within their grasp, yet they retired from office undecorated, and in honourable poverty. In many of their acts they may doubtless be censured, yet when the critical circumstances of Brazil at the period are taken into consideration, surely some apology may be made for their errors.

During the entire period elapsing from the convocation to the close of the constituent Assembly, its members had passed no more than five projects of law, all on objects of minor importance; and had made but little progress in

the discussion of the various articles of the Constitution.

In the Decree for the dissolution, His Majesty stated, that he had been led to this step by the *perjury* of the Assembly; but that another would be immediately convoked for the purpose of taking into consideration the project of a Constitution, which he would himself lay before its members; and which would be *doubly* as liberal as the one projected by the Assembly. This was succeeded by a declaration, dated on the 13th, whereby his Majesty thought proper to qualify the charge of perjury as applied to the whole Assembly, and to state that the factious individuals only, who by their preponderance had dominated over the Congress, were included in the accusation. A Proclamation was also issued on the same day, wherein the arrest of the Andradas, and their pai zans, was stated to have been effected solely with the view of avoiding anarchy; and a promise was made that the families of the criminals should be taken under the protection of the government. "The salvation of the country," continued his Majesty in the Proclamation, "which is confided to me, as the *Perpetual Defender of Brazil*, and which is the supreme law, has required these measures. Have confidence in me, as I have in you, and you will see that our internal and external enemies will alike supplicate our in-

dulgence. Union! Brazilians, union! Whoever has adhered to our sacred cause, and made oath to the independence of the Empire, is a Brazilian!"

CHAPTER IX.

Manifesto relative to the dissolution of the Assembly—Convention of a Council of State for the formation of a New Constitution—Plot for the Assassination of Don Pedro—Affairs in Monte Video —Unpleasant situation of Lord Cochrane—Bad faith of the Government relative to the Prize Claims—Abstract of the New Constitution, made oath to on the 25th of March, 1824—Subsequent analysis of its principal features—Spirit of the Administration—Further particulars relative to the Prize Claims.

WHATEVER might have been the feelings of consternation with which the patriots beheld the dissolution of that body, which they had regarded as the great bulwark of their liberties, the Portuguese residents, whether absolutists or adherents to the late Cortes, were for the most part gratified. They had looked on the Chamber with dislike from its first convocation, and they now beheld its dissolution with pleasure.

His Majesty did not, however, deem it prudent to leave his defence entirely in other hands. A Manifesto, to which the imperial signature was attached, was issued on the 16th of November, wherein the aberrations of the late Assembly were sagaciously ascribed to the

genius of evil. The Emperor ingenuously owned that he himself had summoned the troops to San Christovão, with the just design, as he asserted, of leaving the Assembly in perfect liberty. In the same document, vehement complaints were made regarding the calumnies, of which His Majesty had been the object; the motion that the troops should retire from the vicinity of the city, was stigmatized as a measure which would have deprived the Government of its necessary vigour and energy; and the public were finally reminded, that though the Emperor had, from regard for the tranquillity of the empire, thought fit to dissolve the said Assembly, he had in the same decree convoked another, in conformity with the acknowledged constitutional rights of his people.

A Special commission, or Council of State, consisting of ten individuals, was subsequently convened on the 26th of the same month, for the purpose of forming such a Constitution as might meet with the Imperial approval; and its members immediately commenced their labours under the personal inspection of Don Pedro, who forthwith furnished them with the bases, whereon it was his intention that the document should be framed.

These concessions were, however, far from satisfying the patriots. The entire separation

of Brazil from Portugal was in their eyes of equal importance with the adoption of representative institutions; and this separation now appeared to have been again rendered extremely problematical. Don Pedro was by many regarded as being still the heir-apparent to the Crown of the latter country; and now that he had obtained possession of the throne in Brazil, apprehensions arose lest he might attempt again to unite the two countries, and thus reduce the independence of the latter to an empty assumption. The consequence was a conspiracy, originating with the republican faction, for the assassination of the Emperor, and the day subsequently named as the one on which he would make oath to the new Constitution, was the one appointed for the perpetration of the deed.

Notwithstanding, however, the perils and the discontent with which the Administration were encompassed in Rio de Janeiro, the cause of Brazil was still gaining ground. Intelligence of the success of Lord Cochrane in the north, and his subsequent arrival in the metropolis, had no sooner reached Monte Video, than it had the effect of inducing the Portuguese Commander of that city to capitulate. Previously to Brazil declaring her independence, the Banda Oriental had sent up a Deputy, Don Jozé Lucas Obes, to the Council of Representatives, con-

vened by Don Pedro; and the Municipal Senate shortly afterwards testified their adherence to the cause of independence. The efforts of General Lecor to bring over the garrison, were, however, unsuccessful. They revolted, and placing themselves under the command of Brigadier Don Alvaro de Costa, continued to retain possession of the city on behalf of the Cortes.

Lecor meanwhile fled to the village of San José, where, by concentrating the native forces stationed on the Uraguay, he raised an army of nearly three thousand men; and, returning to Casavalle, about two leagues from Monte Video, declared the city in a state of siege, prohibited all payments to the garrison, and threatened every one who should afford them assistance with prosecution. The locality of Monte Video, which can be approached by land in one direction only, facilitated the operations of the General; yet, such was his remissness, that a constant communication with the interior is said to have been maintained throughout the entire period of the siege. Don Alvaro, at least, continued to hold the city, and the Cabildo, notwithstanding their previous professions in favour of the independence, thought fit to acknowledge his authority. The Government in Rio refused payment of the bills drawn on the Treasury for the supplies of the garrison; or-

dered Don Alvaro and his followers to embark immediately; and finally sent down a naval expedition for the enforcement of their mandates; but all to no purpose. Don Alvaro maintained his position, nor was it until he became aware that the Portuguese forces had been ejected from every other point of Brazil, that he was induced to enter into a convention with General Lecor, in which, on condition that the Brazilian Government would pay up the arrears due to his troops, and provide transports, he agreed to embark with all his forces for Lisbon. It was also stipulated, that the Brazilian Government should convoy the squadron as far as the Azores, and guarantee the troops against hostilities, in case stress of weather should compel them to put into any of the northern ports. The embarkation took place as soon as transports could be provided, and the Portuguese troops were thus pacifically dispossessed of their last stronghold in America.

Meanwhile, Lord Cochrane himself remained in Rio, patiently waiting the adjudication of his prizes; and, as a succession of captures were still coming in from the coast of Portugal, whither Captain Taylor had followed the Portuguese, the officers and crews of the squadron were led to form the most flattering hopes. The result, however, did not equal their anticipations. The prizes had been guaranteed to

the squadron previous to its sailing, but the object of the expedition was now attained, and His Majesty, under the influence of his Royalist Counsellors, manifested but little eagerness in fulfilling the engagements entered into during the ministry of the Andradas. He was anxious, in the first instance, to avoid giving offence to his Portuguese subjects; and, in the second, by delaying the condemnation of the sequestered vessels and property, to facilitate a peace with the mother-country.

He did not, however, dare to make an open avowal of these sentiments. A nominal Prize-court was instituted; of which, incredible as it may appear, the majority of the members were by birth Portuguese, every way interested in defeating the claims of the captors. To the prizes taken in Maranham, and the property there seized in the Custom-house, this tribunal denied the alleged rights of the squadron altogether; on the plea, that this city had formed an integral part of the Brazilian Empire before Lord Cochrane's arrival, and that, consequently, all the seizures effected there, were invalid. His Lordship in vain recalled to the attention of the members the fact, that though Maranham might nominally be termed a Brazilian province from the time of the independence, it was actually until the period of its declaration, in the possession of Portugal; and

that, as it had afterwards been delivered up by the Portuguese authorities to an armed Brazilian force, all property appertaining to the enemy, by the customary usages of war, fell to the share of the captors, unless an equivalent were granted by the Crown.

The Prize-court not only overruled this objection, but even declared the Admiral bound to make restitution of all such sums as he had received in ransom for property apprehended in the port in question; a decision, however, to which his Lordship peremptorily refused to accede.

In the adjudication even of such prizes as had been actually guaranteed, the same spirit prevailed. In every instance, pleas the most extravagant were admitted, and sentences the most incongruous issued. In the case of a certain prize, Captain Taylor of the Nitheröy, an officer, who, after following the enemy into the mouth of the Tagus, had burned four vessels under the guns of the line-of-battle ship Don John VI. was sentenced to be imprisoned for six months on the Ilha das Cobras, and to forfeit double the amount of his prize-money, in behalf of the owners of the property seized. In another, the Pombinha, the ship loaded by Lord Cochrane in Maranham, with goods out of the Custom-house, was, on being

declared an illegal prize, given up to the Portuguese owner, along with all her cargo. These, and many similar decisions, were publicly impeached by his Lordship, but to no purpose. Official letter after letter, and appeal after appeal, were transmitted to the Minister, but no redress was to be obtained; and his Lordship in consequence, felt himself compelled to refuse payment to the Government of the amount of specie seized during the blockade of Bahia, as well as of the sum subsequently received in redemption of the seizures in Maranham; a resolution, in which, taking into consideration the bad faith of the Government, he appears to have been fully justified.

The prize-vessels were in the meantime delivered up by order of the Government, to the charge of the Inspector of the Arsenal, and by him again to individuals, who, being in no manner responsible for the property on board, allowed it to be carried off by night with the utmost impunity. The consequence was, that when the members of the Prize-court at length decided in their wisdom on discharging the vessels, in order to prevent *the cargoes from being damaged*, they discovered to their astonishment, that in this respect, their intentions had been already forestalled; and that, strange as it might seem, many valuable cargoes had entirely disappeared. As

for the vessels themselves, they were for the most part allowed to lie and rot, until they became equally valueless to either party.

On the occasion of the entry of Captain Grenfell, in the frigate Imperatriz with forty contos of reis on board, the product of the ransom of the prizes taken by him in Pará, a still more flagrant breach of faith was committed; as the Emperor proceeded on board in person, and in the absence of Captain Grenfell, carried off the money. The Captain was also soon afterwards subjected to a Court Martial, in consequence of the suffocation of the prisoners in Pará; but on its being proved that he had in reality but little connection with that disastrous circumstance, and that through his exertions the city had been preserved from utter anarchy, he was in the end honourably acquitted.

The preceding are, however, minor particulars, which would be unworthy of relation, except inasmuch as they may serve to explain the motives of the subsequent conduct of Lord Cochrane; and it now becomes necessary to refer to the course of events of more importance. The project of the new Constitution to be conceded by the Emperor was brought forward early in the month of January, 1824, but the promise that it should be submitted to a National Assembly for their approval was not adhered to. Copies of the document were,

however, transmitted to the Municipal Chambers of the various provinces, and as the majority were judged to be in favour of its adoption, the Emperor, the Empress, the Bishop of Rio, and the Municipal Body, finally made oath to it on the 25th of March following.

In the evening the Royal family attended the Theatre. It had been the design of the conspirators against the life of His Majesty, to set fire to the house during the performance, and to assassinate him in the confusion expected to ensue. This plan, however, proved abortive, the Emperor being happily rescued in the beginning of the tumult, without even being aware of the imminence of his danger. The Theatre was reduced to ashes; but although some suspicion was excited, the existence of the conspiracy never fully transpired until subsequently to the abdication in 1831.

The Constitution was, in its general principles at least, equally satisfactory with the projected one in discussion in the late Assembly. In accordance with the promise of the Emperor, many of its dispositions were even more liberal. By its provisions, Brazil was declared an independent Empire, and its government Monarchical, Constitutional, and Representative. The reigning dynasty were to be Don Pedro, and his successors. The Roman Catholic religion was constituted that of the State; but the

exercise of all others was permitted. The unrestricted communication of thought, either by means of words, writings, or the agency of the press, exempt from censure, was permitted; with the condition that all who should abuse this privilege, should become amenable to the law; and a guarantee founded on the principles of the English Habeas Corpus act was also conceded to the public. The privileges of citizenship were extended to all free natives of Brazil, to all Portuguese resident there from the time of the Independence, and to all naturalized strangers. The law was declared equal to all; all were constituted liable to taxation in proportion to their possessions; the highest offices of the State were all laid open to every citizen; and all privileges, excepting those of office, abolished. The political powers acknowledged by the Constitution were the Legislative, the Moderative, the Executive, and the Judicial; all of which were acknowledged as delegations from the nation. It was declared that the General Assembly should henceforth consist of two chambers; the chamber of Deputies, and that of the Senate, both elective; but while the Deputies were to hold their office for four years only, the Senators were appointed for life. The especial attributes of the Assembly were to administer the oaths to the Emperor, the Imperial Prince, the Regent, or the Regen-

cy; to elect the Regent, or Regency; and to fix the limits of his or their authority; to acknowledge the Imperial Prince as successor to the Throne, on the first meeting after his birth; to nominate the Guardian of the young Emperor, in case such Guardian were not named in the parental testament; to resolve all doubts relative to the succession on the death of the Emperor, or vacancy of the Throne; to examine into the past administration, and to reform its abuses; to elect a new dynasty, in case of the extinction of the reigning family; to pass laws, and also to interpret, suspend, and revoke them; to guard the Constitution, and to promote the welfare of the nation; to fix the public expenditure, and taxes; to appoint the marine and land forces annually upon the report of the Government; to concede, or refuse, the entry of foreign forces within the Empire; to authorize the Government to contract loans, to establish means for the payment of the public debt, to regulate the administration of national property, and decree its alienation; to create, or suppress public offices, and to fix the stipend to be allotted to them; and lastly, to determine the weight, value, inscription, type, and denomination of the coinage. During the tenure of their office, the members of both Houses were alike exempted from arrest, unless by the authority of

their respective Chambers, or when seized in the commission of a capital offence. For the opinions uttered during the exercisé of their functions, they were declared inviolable. All measures for the levying of imposts, and military enrolments, the choice of a new dynasty in case of the extinction of the existing one, the examination of the acts of the past administration, and the accusation of Ministers, or Counsellors of State, were required to have their origin with the House of Deputies. For the indemnification of its members, it was decided that a pecuniary remuneration should be allotted to each during the period of the sessions The number of the Senators was fixed at one-half that of the Deputies; and the members were required to be upwards of forty years of age, and to be in actual possession of an income amounting to at least eight hundred milreis per annum. It was their exclusive attribute to take cognizance of the individual crimes committed by the Members of the Royal Family, Ministers, or Counsellors of State; as well as of the crimes of Deputies, during the period of the Legislature. Their annual stipend was fixed at half as much again as that of the Deputies.

The members of both Chambers were to be chosen by provincial Electors, who were themselves to be elected by universal suffrage; in

which only minors, monks, domestics, and individuals not in the receipt of one hundred milreis per annum, were excluded from voting. Whilst, however, the Deputies were appointed directly by the Electors, the Senators were nominated in triple lists, from which three candidates it was ordained that his Majesty should select one. Each Chamber was qualified with powers for the proposition, opposition, and approval of projects of law. In case, however, the House of Deputies should disapprove of the *amendments*, or *additions* of the Senate, or *vice versa*, it was decided that the dissenting Chamber should have the privilege of requiring a temporary union of the two houses, in order that the matter in dispute might thus be decided in general Assembly.

A *veto* was conceded to the Emperor, but it was only suspensory in its nature. In case three successive Parliaments should present the same project for the Imperial sanction, it was declared that on the third presentation it should, under all, or any circumstances, be considered that the sanction had been conceded. The ordinary annual Session of the two Houses of Legislature were limited to the period of four months.

To each province of the Empire, a General Council was appointed, for the purpose of discussion on its particular interests, and the for-

mation of projects of law accommodated to its localities, and urgencies; but these Assemblies were not invested with any power excepting that of proposing laws of provincial interest.

The attributes of the Moderative power, which was designated the Key to the entire political organization, and which was vested exclusively in the hands of the Emperor, were the nomination of Senators, according to the before mentioned regulations; the convocation of the General Assembly, whenever the good of the Empire should require it; the sanction of the decrees, or resolutions of the Assembly; the enforcement, or suspension of the projects of the provincial Councils during the recess of the Chambers; the dissolution of the House of Deputies; the nomination of Ministers of State; the suspension of magistrates; the diminution of the penalties imposed on criminals; and the concession of amnesties.

The titles acknowledged in the Constitution as appertaining to His Majesty, were, "Constitutional Emperor, and Perpetual Defender of Brazil." His person was declared inviolable, and sacred, and he himself exempt from all responsibility. He was, moreover, designated as the Chief of the Executive power, which power was to be exercised through the medium of his Ministers. Its principal functions were the

convocation of a new General Assembly in the third year of each legislature; the nomination of Bishops, Magistrates, military and naval Commanders, Ambassadors, and Diplomatic, and Commercial Agents; the formation of all treaties of alliance, subsidy, and commerce; the declaration of war and peace; the granting of patents of naturalization, and the exclusive power of conferring titles, military orders, and other honorary distinctions. All acts emanating from the executive power were to be signed by the Ministers of State, before being carried into execution, and those Ministers were to be held responsible for all abuses of power, as well as for treason, falsehood, peculation, or attempts against the liberty of the subject.

In addition to the Ministry, a Council of State was also appointed, the members of which were to hold their offices for life. They were to be heard concerning all matters of serious import, and principally on all subjects relating to war and peace, negotiations with foreign States, and the exercise of the moderative power. For all counsels wilfully tending to the prejudice of the State, they were to be held responsible.

The Judicial power was declared independent, and was appointed to consist of Judges and Juries for the adjudication of both civil and

criminal cases, according to the disposition of future codes for this effect. The Juries were to decide upon the fact, and the Judges to apply the law. For all abuses of power the Judges, as well as the other officers of justice, were to be held responsible. It lay within the attributes of the Emperor to suspend the Judges in the exercise of their functions, but they were to be dismissed from office only by a sentence of the supreme Courts of appeal, which were to be forthwith instituted in all the various provinces.

The Presidents of the provinces were to be nominated by the Emperor; but their privileges, qualifications, and authority, were to be fixed hereafter by the Assembly.

If, after the expiration of four years, it should be found that any articles of the Constitution required reform, it was decreed that the proposed amendments should originate with the House of Deputies; and if, after discussion, the necessity of the reform was conceded, an act was to be passed and sanctioned by the Emperor in the usual manner, requiring the electors of the Deputies for the next Parliament to confer on their representatives especial powers regarding the proposed alteration or reform. On the assembling of the next House of Deputies, the matter in question was to be proposed and discussed, and, if passed, to be appended

to the Constitution, and solemnly promulgated.

Finally, civil and criminal codes were to be organized; the use of torture was abolished; the confiscation of property was prohibited; the custom of declaring the children and relations of criminals infamous was abrogated, and the rights of property, and the public debt were guaranteed.

On the whole, the Constitution was a satisfactory document, and far more liberal in its dispositions than the character of its compilers had led the public to anticipate. Fortunately, they were Royalists, unqualified to estimate either the ultimate consequences, or even the immediate bearings of the guarantees which they were conferring. They were instructed to form such a document as might ensure popularity, and, moreover, the period allotted by the Emperor for the completion of their labours had been restricted to forty days. They were thus, from a double motive, compelled to rely rather on authority, than on the results of either ratiocination or reflection. In their compilation, they followed the Portuguese Constitution of 1822, rather than the one lately projected by the Constituent Assembly. The idea of the General Councils of the provinces was borrowed, with few variations, from the Constitution of the Netherlands. The union of the Chambers,

in case of dissent, was copied from the fundamental Code of Norway, and several articles were transcribed, word for word, from the Constitution of the French Constituent Assembly of 1791. The Code, however, to which they were more than all indebted, was a project proposed in the writings of Benjamin Constant, as a modification of the Charter of France.

On attentive revision, traces of the vacillation under which the commission laboured in the attempts to reconcile contending interests, and to amalgamate principles in themselves contradictory, may be found in the dispositions of the Code itself. In one article, all the powers legislative, moderative, executive, and judicial, are stated to be delegations from the nation, and yet, shortly afterwards, the moderative or irresponsible power, is styled the Key to the entire political organization. It is true, that the phrase, "the Key to the entire political organization," being altogether metaphorical, may be explained away in such a manner, as to remove the appearance of a contradiction; yet why employ any such figurative expressions in the concoction of a code of laws? The admission of the title of "Perpetual Defender of Brazil," as applied to the Emperor, into the body of the Constitution, also appears somewhat incompatible with the institutions of a free people, who ought

to be their own defenders. By virtue of this appellation, the privileges of dictatorship were apparently vested in His Majesty, and in case he should at any future time, have requested an ulterior law for the entire development of his attributes in this respect, it is easy to perceive that a venal legislature could instantaneously have invested him with almost absolute authority.

Notwithstanding these, and some other minor discrepancies, the Constitution was as a whole hailed with rejoicing. A few of the Municipalities were opposed to the appointment of the Senate for life, on the ground that this permanence was neither more nor less than an utter exemption from all responsibility; and that the strongest of all incitements to public esteem was thus wilfully done away with. From a similar feeling, objections were also made to the separation of the Moderative from the Executive power; and had the Constitution been submitted, according to promise, to the sanction of a National Assembly, it appears doubtful, whether either of the foregoing provisions would have been accepted.

Whilst, however, circumstances had thus induced the Government to confer a Constitution, which, whatever might be its faults, was at least quite as liberal as could be deemed appropriate to the circumstances of the country,

a retrograde principle still appeared to pervade nearly all the acts of their administration. None, excepting Ministerial papers were allowed to be printed; the tendency in favour of the Portuguese was openly pronounced; and even the interests of the Naval officers, through whose instrumentality the integrity of the Empire had been accomplished, were still thwarted as before, and the situation of Lord Cochrane rendered daily more and more disagreeable. On the one hand, the officers and seamen looked to him for their prize-money, and reproached him with apathy; and on the other, he was told by the Minister of the Empire, João Severiano Maciel da Costa, afterwards Marquis de Queluz, that he was too exacting, and avaricious, and ought to content himself with his pay. These taunts from both parties at length exasperated him beyond all measure, and led him to form the celebrated project of repaying himself, which he soon afterwards carried into execution; and which has since been the means of drawing upon him so much obloquy, from individuals unacquainted with the facts of his provocation.

Eight entire months were consumed in fruitless attempts to bring the Ministry to a sense of their injustice; during which period a considerable number of both officers and seamen retired from the service in disgust. The Roy-

alist party, however, maintained their preponderance, and it was not until affairs in Pernambuco assumed an aspect which again put the Admiral's services in requisition, that his complaints were attended to. Then, and then only, was a grant of two hundred contos of reis given out of the Treasury on account; which sum was immediately distributed amongst the officers and crews still remaining.

CHAPTER X.

Application of the Portuguese Government for the intervention of his Britannic Majesty—Mediation of Mr. Canning, in 1824—Attempt of Don Miguel to overthrow the Portuguese Administration—Negotiations relative to the affairs of Brazil — Unsatisfactory line of policy adopted by the Portuguese Government.

The violent dissolution of the Constituent Assembly was regarded by the Cabinet of Portugal, as an unquestionable proof of the ascendancy of the Portuguese party in Brazil; and their hopes that Don Pedro might even yet acknowledge the supremacy of his father, and establish an entire re-union with the mother-country, were consequently revived. It was not long, however, before they discovered that in forming this opinion, they had been far too sanguine, and in March 1824, they applied specifically, in a "Note Verbale," presented in London by M. de Villa Real, for the intervention of His Britannic Majesty, to procure an immediate assent to the following conditions.

1st, The cessation of hostilities on the part of Brazil against Portuguese ships and subjects.

2d, The restitution of all Portuguese property wrongfully confiscated.

3d, Abstinence from any attack upon the Colonies remaining faithful to Portugal.

4th, The dismissal by the Brazilian Government of all British subjects from its service.

This application was made on the alleged foundation of ancient Treaties subsisting between Portugal and Great Britain: which Treaties, however, Mr. Canning, who then held the seals of the Foreign Department, did not consider applicable to the present contest, which he looked upon as of a domestic, rather than of a foreign nature, though he willingly accepted the office of a mediator; as British interests were at stake both in Portugal and Brazil. In whatever manner a protracted struggle between the two countries might have terminated, Great Britain would inevitably have been a loser by the contest; and in the hope of accomplishing a peace, Mr. Chamberlain, the British Chargé d'Affaires in Rio, was immediately directed to urge upon the Brazilian Ministry the fulfilment of the foregoing conditions.

This pacific mediation was, however, far from proving altogether satisfactory to the Portu-

guese Ministers. They had looked for positive mandates, to be supported by an armed interference. They either were, or affected to be, still of opinion that an union between Brazil and the parent state might again be effected, and being disappointed in their expectations of forcible intervention on the part of Great Britain, they at least made an affectation of turning their minds to a project for again reducing Brazil to obedience, by means of an expedition fitting out in the Tagus. While they continued in this disposition, Felisberto Brant returned to England from a voyage to Brazil, charged, jointly with another Commissioner, to open a negotiation for the arrangement of peace.

No sooner did the Portuguese Ministry learn the arrival of the Brazilian Plenipotentiaries in England, than they gave positive assurances that no expedition should sail from Portugal while negotiations were pending; and these assurances, when in their turn they reached Rio de Janeiro, also produced on the part of the Brazilian Ministers, a determination to do all in their power to prevent further hostilities: though this cessation of arms could not be publicly announced. All treaty was, however, for a time suspended, by an attempt on the part of Don Miguel to overthrow the government of Portugal. The irresolute and vacillating cha-

racter of the King had there roused at once the fears of the Absolutists, and the hopes of the Constitutional party. The Queen herself openly declared to her adherents that her husband was unfit to reign; Don Miguel was well known to share the sentiments of his mother; and the result was an attempt made on the 30th of April, 1824, to depose the existing Administration. Under the plea of having discovered a conspiracy against the life of his Royal father, the Infante placed himself at the head of the military, and at once proceeded to throw into prison the most influential of his own political opponents. The King, however, with apparent justice, regarded this step as preparatory to an attempt for his own dethronement, and sought refuge from the over-zealous loyalty of his son on board the Windsor Castle, an English ship of war, lying at anchor in the Tagus. He there held an audience with the Foreign Ambassadors at that time resident in Lisbon, and finding them unanimous in the determination to support him, he despatched a letter to the Infante, intimating, that in case of submission, His Majesty would overlook the excesses which an indiscreet zeal had induced him to commit. To this condition Don Miguel finally thought proper to accede: and, with many expressions of filial regard, requested permis-

sion to retire from Portugal, lest his presence should afford a pretext for a continuance of intrigue amongst the Constitutionalists. This wish was, of course, granted without any difficulty. The Infante, in consequence, departed for Vienna, and the King finally re-assumed the command of the army in person. As for the Queen, she learned the triumph of her weak and irresolute spouse with but little satisfaction; declaring that, had the Infante consulted with her, "the streets of Lisbon should have run with blood before such a disgraceful compact should have been acceded to."

It was not until the European concerns of Portugal were settled, that those of Brazil could be attended to. Negotiations between the Brazilian Plenipotentiaries on the one hand, and a Portuguese Minister on the other, were, however, at length entered upon in London, on the 12th of July, but nothing definitive was concluded. Notwithstanding the previous overthrow of the democratic Cortes, to whose existence alone the obstinacy of the Brazilians had been ascribed, the negotiation made but little progress. That promptitude of operation which is often cited as one of the characteristic advantages of a despotic form of Government, did not, in the present instance, extend itself throughout the diplomatic relations of the Por-

tuguese Court. The Brazilians demanded independence, the Portuguese Sovereignty; and these words reciprocally interchanged, formed the only substance of five different conferences. The unsatisfactory nature of these proceedings at length induced Mr. Canning to address a communication to the Portuguese Government, pointing out the danger lest their hostilities might convert the Monarchical Government already established in Brazil, into a number of separate republics; and, on this account, requesting an acknowledgment of the independence. On the other hand, the representatives of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, which countries had not a single sail off the coast of South America, or a single bale of goods in the ports of either Portugal or Brazil, calmly recommended perpetual war, rather than the admission of revolutionary principles.

The Portuguese Ministry decided upon an intermediate course; and thus managed to dissatisfy all parties. They drew up a project, wherein the independence was nominally acknowledged; but, as they still insisted on a joint diplomacy, a common army, and that the King of Portugal should be acknowledged as senior Emperor of Brazil, it was, of course, inadmissible.

Not content, however, with the rejection of

the Brazilian commissioners in London, the Portuguese Government sent out an obscure emissary, of the name of De Leal, to Rio de Janeiro, where he was thrown into prison; and after having had his proposals rejected, dismissed with orders to quit the territories of Brazil forthwith.

CHAPTER XI.

Revolt in Pernambuco—Arrest and subsequent release of Manoel Carvalho Paes de Andrada—Proclamation of the "Confederation of the Equator"—Lord Cochrane despatched to Pernambuco, in August, 1824—His operations and negociations there—Advantages obtained by the Imperialists, under the command of Francisco de Lima—Arrival of Commodore Jewett in Pernambuco, and flight of Carvalho—Execution of Ratcliff, Metrowich, and Loureiro for high treason.

While the Emperor was thus in vain attempting to obtain satisfactory terms of peace from the mother-country, the integrity of the new Empire was seriously endangered by an insurrection in the North. The city of Rio de Janeiro, and the circumjacent provinces had submitted to the violent dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, without any show whatever of insubordination; but, in the more distant province of Pernambuco, a very different spirit was manifested. The cause of the Independence had there received no factitious aid from the presence of an extravagant and ostentatious Court; but it had, perhaps, on that very account, taken root more vigorously among the people. From the period when their ancestors

expelled the Dutch in the seventeenth century, the inhabitants of Pernambuco had ever been noted for their impatient and democratic spirit; and, in 1817, whilst the inhabitants of every other province in Brazil had been retained in uncomplaining submission, they had already revolted. Though defeated, they had again taken up arms against Luis Dorego; and, finally, they had expelled the Portuguese without any extraneous assistance.

It could not be expected that a community imbued with this rebellious disposition would long yield a blind and unscrutinizing obedience to the arbitrary domination of the Court. On the contrary, they declared, through the medium of their public journals. that they might as well remain a colony of Portugal as constitute themselves a colony of Rio de Janeiro; and, on receiving intelligence of the events which had taken place in that city on the 12th of November, they came to the resolution of proclaiming a republican form of government.

At the head of an association for the accomplishment of this rash and premature project, for both rash and premature it must unquestionably be pronounced, was Manoel Carvalho Paes de Andrada, the elected President of the province; a young man of agreeable manners, of an impetuous, active, and enthusiastic disposition, and of considerable popularity; yet, in no

wise remarkable either for the extent of his acquirements, or the depth of his prudence. The democratic principles of this individual were already well known to the Government in Rio, at the period of his election. He had been connected with the insurrection of 1817, and was in the United States, whither he had gone for the purpose of purchasing arms and ammunition, when his fellow-conspirators were prematurely called into the field. He had, consequently, remained in exile from his native country, until its separation from Portugal again permitted him to return to Pernambuco. His appointment thus proved any thing but agreeable to the Royalist administration, and another President of the nomination of the Emperor was, on the present occasion, sent up from the metropolis; but the inhabitants of the city of Pernambuco, in three general Assemblies, as often refused to acknowledge any authority excepting that of the individual of their election.

The port was consequently blockaded for three months by Captain Taylor, and, on the 20th of March, 1824, Carvalho was unexpectedly arrested, through the defection of two military officers, Scara and Lamenha. Both of these individuals were in the party of Carvalho, when they received an account of their own promotion by the Court of Rio; and finding

themselves thus favoured by the existing powers, and aware that the troops under their command could be influenced in any manner which they might think proper, they came to the resolution of effecting a counter-revolution, and proceeded to arrest Manoel Carvalho as before stated. The garrison of Fort de Brum, where he was conveyed a prisoner, however, revolted in his favour. All the troops, with the exception of those implicated in his arrest, also declared in behalf of the popular cause; and, before many hours had elapsed, Carvalho was again re-instated in the Presidency, and the refractory battalion sent off to Barra Grande, a small port in the province of Alagoas.

The conspirators, meanwhile, proceeded to engage a small naval force, and were only waiting a favourable moment for the execution of their plans, when a Decree, dated in Rio, on the 11th June, 1834, was received, whereby the Government of Pernambuco were informed that a squadron was now fitting out in the Tagus, for the invasion of Brazil; and that, as the Emperor was incompetent to protect the whole coast of the Empire, the Pernambucans would for a time be required to rely upon themselves for means of defence.

This occasion was deemed a fit one for carrying the projected revolution into effect; and Proclamations were accordingly issued by the

President on the 2d of July, denouncing Don Pedro as a traitor, whose intention it was to abandon Brazil to the Portuguese. At the same time a call was made on the various provinces of the north of Brazil, to disclaim the authority of the Imperial Government, and to league themselves in an alliance to be entitled the "Confederation of the Equator." The troops were also placed under arms, and all necessary measures were taken for the defence of the city. A large number of the inhabitants of Parahybá, Rio Grande do Norto, and Ceará, subsequently declared in favour of the same cause; but the movement was less unanimous than had been anticipated. Misled by the enthusiasm existing in the city of Pernambuco, the conspirators had expected that the whole country would rise in arms at their call. But the pacific inhabitants of the interior were too indifferent to the cause of dissension, and too much in the habit of implicit obedience, to be at all ripe for any such projects; and Barreto, afterwards created Marquis de Recife, the proprietor of an extensive territory near Cape St. Augustine, even took up arms in the cause of the Emperor; whilst the troops who had before arrested Carvalho, as well as a number of partizans, rallied round his standard. Here Carvalho besieged them by land, and at the same time with a small naval force block-

aded them by sea; but without any decided success.

Intelligence of these proceedings in the meantime reached Rio de Janeiro, where the "Habeas Corpus," conceded by the Constitution, was suspended through Pernambuco; and another President, a native of that province, appointed in Carvalho's stead. The unemployed vessels of war were also fitted out for sea, and a division of about twelve hundred men despatched under the command of General Francisco de Lima, the brother of Lima who had previously conducted the siege of Bahia, with orders to co-operate with the troops of Barreto. The squadron sailed from Rio, on the 1st of August, 1834, under the command of Lord Cochrane; and, after landing the troops in Maceyó, proceeded to blockade the city of Pernambuco.

His Lordship did not, however, it must be owned, proceed in this service with his usual vigour. He issued repeated Proclamations, stating his persuasion, that the dissensions now agitating Pernambuco had their origin in erroneous impressions regarding the events which had taken place in Rio de Janeiro; and he volunteered to act as a mediator between the insurgents and the Emperor. He recalled to their attention the distracted state of the Spanish republics throughout South America, and he finally threatened to increase the rigour

of the blockade; to destroy their shipping, and by sinking vessels in the mouth of the harbour, to block up all entrance into the port, unless the integrity of the Empire were again acknowledged within eight days from the date of his first Proclamation.

His Lordship had anticipated immediate compliance, but was disappointed. He had only employed the foregoing threats in the hope that by intimidation a struggle might be prevented; and as this opinion proved incorrect, his situation became one of much embarrassment. Whatever might be his desire to avoid a conflict, he could not, after the decisive language which he had adopted, employ his own officers in any further negotiation. It, however, happened that at this crisis the English packet arrived from Falmouth, with Mrs. Graham, the authoress of the "Journal of a voyage to Brazil," on board as a passenger; and of the mediation of this Lady Lord Cochrane determined to avail himself; well aware that while he might, without suspicion, employ her as a Diplomatic Agent, her sex would ensure her respect and protection from all parties. Mrs. Graham cheerfully undertook the office proposed, and made several attempts to arrange the terms of a personal interview between his Lordship and Carvalho, on board the French brig of war L'Inconstant, then lying

there. Failing, however, in this, she was next entrusted with terms of peace; wherein, on condition that all Government property should be respected, and the balance in the Treasury paid over to the Imperial Authorities, a permission was granted to the leaders of the rebellion, to embark for any foreign port along with their families, and all their *bona fide* property; a certificate of protection being promised to all the rest who should surrender.

These efforts on the part of the Admiral, were all unavailing. To his advances, Carvalho replied by an offer of four hundred contos of reis, in case his Lordship would abandon the Imperial cause, and come over to the Republicans; and on an indignant refusal, all further negotiations were broken off.

A schooner, the Leopoldina, was consequently fitted out for the bombardment of the city, the harbour being too shallow to admit vessels of heavy burthen, and as no doubt existed but that Lord Cochrane would attempt to carry his threats into execution, unless the place should surrender, the inhabitants of Recife, the wealthiest division of the city, began to fly towards the interior in the utmost confusion; carrying with them all their moveable property, their furniture, and their slaves.

The schooner commenced throwing shells on the 28th of August, about midnight, but with

little effect, being inadequate to such service. The idea of taking the place by storm, was in consequence given up for the present, and a casualty which occurred to the Admiral's ship a few days afterwards, compelled him to abandon the blockade altogether. The Lameiraõ, or outer road of Pernambuco, is an extremely dangerous anchorage during certain months of the year, and the ground so rocky, that a vessel rarely moors there for any length of time, without losing an anchor. Such was the case with the Pedro Primeiro: she lost every anchor but one, which circumstance was alleged by Lord Cochrane as his motive for bearing down for Bahia, whither he sailed, leaving Pernambuco still in the hands of the republicans.

In the meantime, the troops of General Lima formed a junction with those of Barreto. The forces of the Republicans were still in greater number, but as they were far behind their opponents in discipline, and they met with but little of that ardent co-operation which they had anticipated, they were unable to oppose any effectual barrier to the invading force. After a succession of skirmishes, terminating in every instance to the advantage of the Imperial army, General Lima finally entered Pernambuco on the 11th of September, and in the course of the following day, succeeded in obtaining possession of the Treasury,—in which

were found four hundred contos of reis, probably the money rejected by Lord Cochrane,—and of the Government Palace.

The troops of Carvalho, meanwhile, retreated into the parish of Recife, and breaking down the bridge which unites this district to the rest of the city, they there entrenched themselves, and commenced a brisk fire on the position occupied by the Imperialists. But very fortunately for the Imperial cause, a naval division, commanded by Commodore Jewett, arrived on the 11th with eight hundred men on board, a number of whom were immediately disembarked, and preparations made for the assault of Recife. In the meantime, however, a fortuitous circumstance did more for the besiegers than all their own exertions. At the time when General Lima entered Pernambuco, he managed to intercept Carvalho, who was at the head of a body of troops in the vicinity ; and the latter being anxious to reach the city, was consequently obliged to proceed thither on a fishing raft, in the only direction by which it could under existing circumstances be approached. Before he could effect his landing, however, the firing became so incessant that, according to Carvalho's own account, the fishermen refused to draw up to the shore, and thus compelled him to seek refuge on board His Britannic Majesty's Corvette the Tweed. Here

he arrived soon after midnight, and in the course of the following day despatched conditions to Commodore Jewett, by which, in case of their acceptance, he guaranteed the entire surrender of the Republican force within ten hours. In substance, the terms were little more than a transcript of those previously offered by Lord Cochrane, but the season for capitulation was past, and they were treated with utter neglect.

The flight of Carvalho, was in the meantime blazoned forth; and as few knew the exact circumstances under which it had taken place, his partizans at once gave up their cause as lost. The assault on Recife took place on the 17th of September, about two in the morning, when the resistance was even more feeble than had been anticipated; and before 8 A.M. the entire city was in the hands of the Imperialists; the majority of the Republican troops, either making their escape, or secreting themselves. The prisoners, amounting to about four hundred men, were for the most part embarked for Rio de Janeiro, and thence again to the ports of the South.

The Imperial troops had expected to have apprehended Carvalho on his estate in Santa Anna, about two leagues from the Capital, but they were disappointed. On arriving there they found his mother only, at her devo-

tions. The chapel was brilliantly illuminated, and it may be recorded as a trait of national manners, that for more than six months she had burned tapers night and day before the shrine of Our Lady of Conception; to whom she had also, during the same period, directed her fervent but fruitless supplications for the success of the cause in which her son was engaged.

Three only of the individuals connected with the insurrection were subsequently executed. Their names were Ratcliff, Metrowich, and Loureiro; and they were arrested on board a vessel in which were also a number of incendiary proclamations. Ratcliff was a Portuguese; Metrowich, a Maltese; and Loureiro, a Brazilian. The first two were officers of the brig-of-war, Constituiçaõ ou Morte, employed in the siege of Barra Grande, and the third was Commander of the schooner, Maria de Gloria, also engaged in the same service. Though they were not proved to have taken any very active part in the siege; though the indictment was informal; the evidence brought against them principally hearsay, and it was shown that Loureiro had been compelled to embark against his will, yet all were condemned in the utmost rigour of the law; whilst to others, taken in open rebellion, an act of amnesty was conceded.

The severity exercised in this instance may perhaps, however, be explained by a reference to the affairs of Portugal. Ratcliff had formerly been employed in the office of one of the Ministers of State in Lisbon, and had volunteered to write out the Decree for the banishment of the Queen, on the occasion of her refusal to make oath to the Constitution. His death was thus regarded by all as a sacrifice to the wrath of offended Royalty, rather than as the just punishment due to his offence; and as the unfortunate man's companions were implicated equally with himself in the terms of the indictment, it was deemed necessary that they should suffer also.

During the short imprisonment elapsing between the period of his sentence and its execution, Ratcliff traced on the wall of the Oratory the lines—

> *"Quid mihi mors nocuit? virtus post fata virescit,*
> *Nec sævi gladio perit illa tyranni."*
>
> "What pain can death inflict, where virtue still
> Survives and triumphs o'er the tyrant's will?"

Their merit is perhaps trifling; the second line is even defective in measure; yet they at least appear to evince the convictions of the writer. When brought to the scaffold, he exclaimed, "I die innocent! God grant that my blood may be the last shed for the liberty of

Brazil." He was anxious to have addressed the people, but was not permitted. Loureiro betrayed some symptoms of trepidation as the crisis approached, but Metrowich, like Ratcliff, died with firmness.

Lord Cochrane in the meantime, returned to Pernambuco, and, in conjunction with General Lima, took measures for putting an end to the war in the more remote provinces. In this their efforts were attended with perfect success. Parahyba, Rio Grande do Norte, and Ceará, successively submitted to the Imperial forces; and thus terminated within the space of a few months, the celebrated "Confederation of the Equator."

CHAPTER XII.

Arrival of Lord Cochrane in Maranham, in November, 1824 — Dissensions there — Operations of his Lordship — His claim on the ordnance, &c. formerly appertaining to the Portuguese Government — Banishment of Abranches — Arrival of a new President, and his subsequent removal by Lord Cochrane — His Lordship's departure for England.

From Pernambuco Lord Cochrane proceeded along the coast, accompanied by the Piranga, Commodore Jewett, and the Cacique brig, Captain Manson; and, having secured the allegiance of Rio Grande, and Ceará, arrived in the port of Maranham on the 9th of November, 1824. This province he found in a state of anarchy. The leaders of the army organized in favour of the independence, had risen against the authority of the President, Miguel Bruce, a Brazilian, originally of Scotch extraction, and hostilities were actually in operation at the time when Lord Cochrane entered the port; each of the contending parties ostensibly declaring for Don Pedro, and each accusing the other of wishing to form a Republic. As Bruce, who at present held the city, placed

his chief confidence in people of colour, to many of whom he had given commissions, the more respectable class of the inhabitants hailed the arrival of Lord Cochrane with great joy. Addresses poured in upon him from all quarters, and even the ladies of Maranham came forward in a deputation to congratulate him.

After remaining a few weeks in port, and ascertaining the actual state of parties, his Lordship sent a cutter with thirty men up the river Itapicurú to the scene of hostilities, with an order for both parties to lay down their arms. This mandate the assailing party immediately complied with, and dispersed. The troops of the President also embarked in five smacks, and were under way to Maranham, when they were met by Lord Cochrane, who had followed the cutter in the Atlante schooner, and after being brought under the guns of the Piranga, and the Pedro Primeiro, they were compelled to disembark on a small island, where they were retained as prisoners until after the departure of his Lordship. Bruce himself was subsequently dispossessed of his powers, and sent off by an early conveyance to Rio de Janeiro.

Having thus re-established order throughout the province, and appointed to the Presidency Manoel Telles da Silva Lobo, an individual entirely in his own interests, Lord

Cochrane proceeded to carry into execution a plan which he had formed long before.

Notwithstanding the services which he had already rendered to Brazil, and the acknowledgment of them in the title of Marquis of Maranham, conferred upon him by the Emperor, he had hitherto met with nothing but bad faith on the part of the Administration in Rio de Janeiro; and he was well aware that terms of peace enacting the restitution of all Portuguese property were in actual negotiation. He therefore looked upon the admission of his claims on the Imperial Government as hopeless, and determined to seize the present opportunity of indemnifying himself whilst yet in his power. In doing this, he had nothing to apprehend from the President. This individual, the humble ex-secretary to the provincial Government, owed his elevation solely to the favour of his Lordship; the besieging army had dispersed, and the troops of Bruce were prisoners. Under the plea, therefore, that the ordnance, military stores, ammunition, and all the various fixtures formerly appertaining to the Portuguese Government, were in reality the lawful prize of their captors from that nation, he proceeded to make an estimate of their value, which was found to amount to nearly four hundred contos of reis. This amount, however, and also the sixty

contos formerly furnished to the army of Piauhy, his Lordship, in consideration of the impoverished state of the province, agreed to commute for about the fourth part, or a hundred and six contos; provided the latter sum were paid immediately.

A Memorial to this effect was then sent in to the Treasury, but as the claim was altogether novel, and the members of the Board had neither a sufficient amount in their coffers, nor any orders from the Government of Rio, they demurred regarding its payment. His Lordship, in consequence, appeared in person at a meeting held by this body, and after adducing his estimates, proceeded to urge the claims of the squadron with great firmness. From a glance at the respective position of the parties, it is easy to perceive how the dispute must necessarily terminate. An unanimous vote was finally passed, that as the Treasury was nearly empty, the Custom-house should furnish the stipulated sum; and an order was given on the latter establishment for the amount.

This order was to be discharged by successive instalments, but the conduct of Lord Cochrane was, in the meantime, bitterly arraigned by an individual named Abranches, the Editor of a periodical entitled the "Censor." This person, a Portuguese by birth, had the

audacity to stigmatize the Admiral as at once a pirate and a robber. For several weeks Lord Cochrane, through the medium of another periodical, publicly responded to the accusations brought against him in the "Censor;" but, finding that his exculpations appeared only to aggravate the violence of his opponent, he determined on the adoption of more decisive measures. Fortunately for him, the "Censor" enjoyed the sympathies of the Portuguese party only, for the Brazilians universally regarded the services of his Lordship with gratitude. By his energetic conduct he had twice preserved them from the horrors of civil war. His present exaction was certainly a heavy one, but it was of little consequence to the people whether their revenues were paid over to his Lordship, or to the Treasury in Rio de Janeiro. Under these circumstances, therefore, the President was easily induced to issue an order for the instantaneous banishment of Abranches, on the alleged ground of his having issued publications at once inimical to the public peace, and personally offensive to the Marquis of Maranham; a sentence which was immediately carried into execution, and which subsequently gave rise to the keenest mortification on the part of the Ministry in Rio de Janeiro.

The money meanwhile came round but slowly, and the designs of his Lordship were

again subjected to a far more serious obstacle in the arrival of another President from Rio de Janeiro. The conduct of Bruce had for a long time been unsatisfactory to the Court, and the consequence was that, before the news of his dismissal had arrived there, an individual of the name of Pedro Jozé da Costa Barros, a partizan of the Portuguese faction, had been appointed to supersede him in the Presidency. The newly appointed functionary arrived at his destination early in February, when he was received with all due honours by the actual President, as well as by Lord Cochrane and his suite, and requested to take charge of the government on the following day. To their solicitations he very naturally replied, that, finding the province in a state of peace, he was anxious to ascertain the particulars of the late convulsions, and the actual state of political parties, before he entered upon his official duties. No sooner, however, had he been made aware of the late proceedings of Lord Cochrane, than he intimated to his Lordship his intention to assume office in the course of a few days. To this sudden resolution his Lordship refused to accede. It had become evident that Barros was an individual of a much less complying disposition than Lobo, the actual President; and, as the payment of the stipulated one hundred and six contos was still incomplete, his Lordship took occasion to postpone the fulfilment of Bar-

ros's intention, under the plea that he had already written to Rio de Janeiro regarding political affairs here, and that, as he expected an answer within ten days, he deemed it most advisable to retain Lobo in office until the expiration of that time. Incensed at this unexpected opposition, Barros immediately threw off the mask, and telling Lord Cochrane that he fully comprehended the motives of this treatment, threatened to make his Lordship responsible for it to the Emperor.

The revenue of the Custom-house, in the meantime, came forward more slowly than ever. The appointed ten days passed over, and after them twenty more, but neither had the amount been completed, nor had the expected communications arrived from Rio de Janeiro. Barros had, however, in connection with a number of partizans, determined on a forcible attempt to invest himself with the Presidency, to be executed on the 10th of March, 1825. Of this Lord Cochrane received intelligence in an anonymous communication, and after disembarking a force from the line-of-battle ship, he proceeded to arrest Barros as a conspirator, and, on the 12th, sent him off a prisoner in the brig of war, Cacique, to Pará, there to wait the determination of the Emperor.

Having at length received the stipulated sum from the Custom-house, as well as fifteen

contos in ransom for a slave vessel, claimed as a prize on the first surrender of Maranham, and still retained there, his Lordship finally sailed for England in the Piranga, on the 20th of May. He had already placed Commodore Jewett in the Pedro Primeiro; and had despatched this vessel to Bahia, whither he gave it out to be his intention to follow her. He nevertheless proceeded directly to Portsmouth, where he arrived after a passage of thirty-seven days, and on landing was received with the most enthusiastic greetings, His engagement had been to serve Brazil until the recognition of her independence by Portugal, and as this had not as yet been effected, he still kept his flag flying on board the Piranga, though there was but little probability that his services would ever again be put in requisition; especially after the line of conduct which he had pursued in Maranham.

The news of his proceedings in the mean time arrived in Rio de Janeiro, where they excited the liveliest indignation on the part of the Ministry. Sensible, however, of their own previous breaches of faith, they were sparing in censure. The "Diario Fluminense," the only official organ of the Administration, transcribed the accounts from Maranham relative to the foregoing transactions, without even annexing one single comment. Their wrath was manifested solely in the immediate dismissal of Lobo from the

Presidency, and the re-appointment of Pedro Jozé de Costa Barros to that office. The Portuguese, who had ever regarded his Lordship with dislike, were loud in their vituperations; but that the Brazilians were in general influenced by a very different feeling, was apparently evinced by their election of Lobo as one of their Deputies to the General Assembly.

CHAPTER XIII.

Assassination of Caldeira in Bahia—Acknowledgment of the independence of the Spanish republics by England, and its effects on the Negociations between Portugal and Brazil—Mr. Canning's proposals to the Portuguese Government—Their Impolicy—Embassy of Sir Charles Stuart—Treaty of the 29th of August, 1825, recognizing the independence—Secret convention annexed—Ratification of the treaty—State of parties in Brazil—Private character of Don Pedro—Marchioness de Santos—Chalaça the favourite—Operations of the Absolutists.

Scarcely had the insurrection in Pernambuco been quelled, when the troops in Bahia rose against Felisberto Gomez Caldeira, the military Governor of that city; and, on the 25th of October, 1824, assassinated him. His undue partiality to the Portuguese was the alleged cause of the sedition, in which this catastrophe had its origin. The leaders of the conspiracy were, however, removed to Monte Video, before any further demonstrations of disaffection had taken place, and public order was again restored.

The metropolis had, in the mean time, remained in a state of tranquillity throughout all these dissensions in the North. The negocia-

tions for peace with the mother-country were still pending, but an event now occurred which had the effect of materially expediting their progress. This was the recognition of the independence of several of the Spanish republics of South America by the government of Great Britain. Though this acknowledgment had no direct connection with the affairs of either Portugal or Brazil, it yet gave a moral force to the cause of freedom all over the world.

Mr. Canning had foreseen this. He had repeatedly urged the Portuguese Ministry to concede in time, but his requisitions had been slighted. He nevertheless determined on a further effort for an amicable adjustment, and for this end despatched Sir Charles Stuart to Lisbon, expressly for the purpose of inducing His most Faithful Majesty to grant to Brazil an entire Legislative independence, and to confirm to Don Pedro the unlimited exercise of the Imperial Authority, under such titles as the Brazilian people had already conferred upon him. At the same time he also advised that the Emperor should be recognized as heir apparent to the Throne of Portugal, in order to evince a continued connection between the two Crowns. By immediately conceding a Carta Regia to this effect, it was urged that His most Faithful Majesty might still reserve all

his own titles and dignities, as well as his private property in Brazil.

Notwithstanding the apparent feasibility of this arrangement, there were many objections to it, which do not appear to have had their due weight with the English Minister. With regard to the acknowledgment of Don Pedro as heir apparent to the Crown of Portugal, it may be observed, that by an old fundamental law of that Kingdom, no Foreigner can, under any circumstances, ascend the Throne; and Don Pedro having expatriated himself by his accession to the Crown of Brazil, had clearly incapacitated himself for any such assumption. That continued connection between the two Crowns, which Mr. Canning appears to have considered it thus desirable to maintain, or rather to re-establish, it was also the first wish of every patriotic Brazilian to avoid. After all the struggles for their independence, the Portuguese influence thus entailed upon them might easily deprive them of all the chief privileges for which they had so ardently striven. The private property alluded to, had, moreover, no real existence. Under the absolute regime, the property of the Monarch and that of the Nation were in every respect synonymous. The Sovereign had an uncontrolled power over the revenue, as well as over all the property

appertaining to the State; yet this was in his capacity as the head of the Government, and not as a private individual; and no claim therefore, denominating as private property all the various tenements and possessions appropriated by the Monarch during his residence in Brazil, could reasonably be admitted.

Sir Charles Stuart was, nevertheless, despatched to Lisbon with the before-mentioned proposal. He was also authorized to express his willingness to be the bearer to Brazil of either this, or any other edict, formed on the same principles; and there to do his utmost to secure to Portugal the commercial advantages enjoyed by the most favoured nation; waving any rights which Great Britain might possess under the Treaty of 1810, to object to this. The co-operation of the Emperor of Austria was about this time also secured by Mr. Canning. The daughter of this Potentate, was the wife of Don Pedro, and now that a Monarchical form of government appeared to have been consolidated in Brazil, the aid of the Austrian Representatives, both in Lisbon and in Rio de Janeiro, was finally ensured to Sir Charles Stuart, who arrived in Lisbon in the month of March, 1825. To his representations, the Portuguese Ministry replied, that they were quite willing to enter upon an amicable arrangement of the nature proposed, but under

certain specified conditions. These were, that in the first place, His most Faithful Majesty should assume the title of Emperor of Brazil; and in that character, as well as in that of King of Portugal and Algarves, create Don Pedro, by a "Carta Patente," his associate in the Imperial title, and then cede to him the sovereignty over Brazil, as well as the eventual right of succession to the throne of Portugal. The other stipulations, required as essential to the final acknowledgment of the independence, were the restitution of captures, the removal of all sequestrations, the adoption by Brazil of the common debt, and the establishment of a satisfactory treaty of commerce between the two countries.

Now, independently of the extravagance of the condition whereby Brazil, after clearing her territory by an armed struggle, was required to encumber herself with the debts of Portugal, the title of Emperor had already been conferred on Don Pedro by acclamation, and not by any supposed legitimate inheritance. There was, on this account, an apparently insuperable obstacle to its being conceded to the King of Portugal, and Sir Charles vainly exerted the whole of his diplomatic skill to procure a modification of these conditions. All that he could obtain was a verbal permission from the King to take whatever steps might be necessary for a

settlement. He accordingly sailed for Rio de Janeiro on the 24th of May, and arrived there on the 18th of July following.

The Emperor received him warmly, but in the outset declared, that public opinion would prevent his granting the title of Emperor to his father. He, however, referred the terms of peace to his Ministry. Several conferences were held in consequence, but as the Brazilian Plenipotentiaries remained firm in refusing to acknowledge the sovereignty of Don John, Sir Charles was finally compelled to propose the acceptance of a preamble, wherein the acknowledgment of the independence, and of Don Pedro as Emperor, preceded the announcement of His most faithful Majesty's resolution to assume the Imperial title, and this they accepted.

The preamble having been thus decided, the articles of the Treaty were found of more easy adjustment. The first two were little more than a recapitulation of the preamble. The third contained a promise, on the part of the Emperor, not to accept the proposals of any of the Portuguese colonies to unite themselves to Brazil, and thus placed it in the power of Portugal to extinguish the slave-trade which he had hitherto protected, on account of the Brazilian planters. The fourth was a stipulation of alliance. The fifth placed the subjects of both

countries on the footing of the most favoured nations. The sixth and seventh decreed the mutual restoration of confiscated property, ships, and cargoes. The eighth established a joint commission of Brazilians and Portuguese to decide upon the matters treated of in the two foregoing articles. The ninth stipulated, that where restitution of property should be found impracticable, indemnification should take place. The tenth established a duty of fifteen per cent. to be paid reciprocally on all merchandize imported into either country from the other: and the eleventh appointed the time of the ratification. All mention of the succession to the throne of Portugal was purposely omitted. Throughout the whole negotiation Don Pedro openly avowed his determination to renounce all claim to the crown of that country, and, as any stipulations on this matter would necessarily have increased the difficulties of the treaty, Sir Charles deemed it most prudent to avoid their introduction.

Whilst, however, the terms of this important document were apparently constructed on fair and open principles, a secret convention was appended to it, whereby not only did Don Pedro unconstitutionally bind the Brazilian government to take to account the sum of 1,400,000*l.* sterling, the amount of a loan contracted by Portugal with Great Britain in 1823,

for the express purpose of opposing the independence; but he also entered into a stipulation to pay over to His most faithful Majesty, a sum equivalent to 600,000*l.* sterling, for his palace, and other private property in Brazil; though, as it has been before observed, this property had hitherto been regarded as belonging solely and exclusively to the nation.

The treaty and convention were, nevertheless, severally signed in Rio, on the 29th of August, by the Brazilian Plenipotentiaries on the one part, and by Sir Charles Stuart, for His most faithful Majesty on the other, and of the whole transaction it may certainly be said,

> "Here Folly dash'd to earth the victor's plume,
> And policy regain'd what arms had lost."

The Emperor subsequently affixed his ratification to the document, and it was sent off to England in the British ship-of-war, the Spartiate. The phraseology of the ratification was not, however, altogether satisfactory to Sir Charles. He represented to the Brazilian Government, that the style which the Emperor had adopted, viz. "By the grace of God, and the unanimous acclamation of the people," was highly objectionable, and the Spartiate, when under weigh, was actually recalled to substitute the words, "by the Constitution of the State," in lieu of the former phrase.

This important alteration having been made, the Spartiate sailed for England with the treaty. On its reception, Mr. Canning wrote to the English Chargé d'Affaires in Lisbon, requiring him to urge its immediate acceptance, and, if possible, to induce His most faithful Majesty either to abstain from all assumption of the Imperial title, or at least to assume it in such a manner as might not challenge recognition. Such, however, was the discontent with which the Treaty was received in Portugal, that the British Minister abstained from divulging his instructions on the latter point. The Government are said to have complained alike of the style of the preamble, and of the silence regarding the succession to the throne of Portugal; whilst the people were equally loud in their clamours against the commercial arrangement. It was not sufficient that they were permitted to trade on the terms of the most favoured nations. What the Portuguese merchants wanted, and what they had even anticipated, was either a direct, or an indirect, continuation of the exclusive system, by the absence of all impost in the Custom houses of each nation.

The Ratification by Don John nevertheless took place shortly after the receipt of the treaty, but under circumstances of a most unwarrantable nature. On the same day on which the royal signature was attached to the docu-

ment, an instrument denominated a "Carta de Lei" was published by the Minister of the Interior, wherein not only did His most faithful Majesty assume the title of Emperor of Brazil, in precedence to that of King of Portugal; but the very conditions with which Sir Charles Stuart had been charged previous to his departure from Lisbon, and to which the Brazilian Government had explicitly refused acceptance, were inserted as those which had been actually acceded to.

Such was the indignation, either real, or assumed, of Don Pedro and his Ministers, on receiving notice of these proceedings, that they threatened the Portuguese Cabinet that they would publish some act which should have the effect of annulling the whole treaty. Their sincerity in this menace may be doubted, yet they were evidently apprehensive lest this injudicious assumption on the part of His most faithful Majesty, might again excite suspicions of recolonization, and thus promote the extension of that republican spirit which it had hitherto been their chief endeavour to quell.

Nor were the Administration without their coadjutors and supporters in the provinces. During the progress of the foregoing negotiations, the political parties throughout Brazil had resolved themselves under two general heads. Under one were the Absolutists, in-

cluding in their ranks nearly all the individuals who had held office during the preceding reign, a great number of wealthy Portuguese, and many other individuals, who, whilst admitting all the advantages of constitutional government in the abstract, yet denied the policy of its application to the ignorant and heterogeneous population of Brazil. Under the other were the adherents to the Constitution as it stood, or, as they may still be denominated, the Patriots; each sect, meanwhile, avowing themselves the partizans of Don Pedro, yet each seeking to bias the Administration according to their own peculiar views. On the first proclamation of the Constitutional code of law, the Absolutists had for a time refrained from the open advocacy of their opinions, but the late measures of the internal Administration had revived their hopes. The new principles were for the most part unapplied theories; and they, as well as their opponents, had become aware that, instead of recurring to the peculiar circumstances of his elevation with honest pride, His Majesty appeared anxious only to sink them in oblivion. In the columns of the "Diario Fluminense," a perpetual stress was laid on the circumstance of Don Pedro's legitimacy; whilst not a word was ever said about his unanimous election. A conscious uneasiness was manifested, as though the validity of the Emperor's claims had been unexpectedly

called into question, and the parting charge, whereby Don John was known to have enjoined on his son the assumption of the Crown of Brazil, was more than once brought before the public by the sagacious editors of the same periodical.

With the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, His Majesty had at length obtained possession of that supreme and uncontrolled authority, for which he had so ardently striven; yet the very circumstance of its attainment appeared to have the precise effect of unfitting him for its exercise. Perhaps this result was no more than natural. Having achieved his great object, he had no longer the same motives, either for the exertion of his talents, or the concealment of his failings. Temptations were necessarily multiplied around him; men of integrity were as much as possible excluded from his presence; and the plain and simple language of truth and soberness, was superseded by the vilest adulation. He still continued to associate with all ranks on terms of cordiality, and even of familiarity, but his conversation was not adapted to inspire reverence for either his morals, or his abilities. The principal part of his leisure hours was spent in the society of a lady of the name of Castro, to whom he had been introduced during his visit to San Paulo, in 1822. Since then, she had so far succeeded

in engaging his affections, that he publicly avowed her as his mistress, created her Marchioness de Santos, and erected a palace for her residence in the immediate vicinity of San Christovão. At the same time, his treatment of the unfortunate Empress was most unfeeling. While favours were showered down on the head, and promotions dispensed from the hand, of the newly created Marchioness, the high-born daughter of the House of Hapsburg, though unexpensive in her habits, was continually reduced to the necessity of soliciting the loan of money from her dependents.

The characters of the political agents by whom the Emperor was surrounded, was, moreover, but little calculated to insure public confidence. Partizans of the Absolutist faction were found even in the Cabinet, and in the selection of friends, or rather favourites, His Majesty was even more unfortunate. At their head was a Portuguese of the name of Francisco Gomez da Silva; better known in Brazil by the appellation of Chalaça, a word synonymous with the French term *persiflage*, noisy, extravagant, insolent, and dissipated in character; yet, on the other hand, frank in his manners, witty in conversation, indefatigable in any service in which he was engaged, and the sincere friend of Don Pedro. From the rank of a domestic in the Imperial household, he had been suc-

cessively elevated by the Emperor to that of Adjutant of the Guard of Honour, and private Secretary; and had finally acquired such an ascendancy over the mind of his Royal patron, that he may, without exaggeration, be said to have shared the supreme authority.

Such were the coterie in whose hands the control of affairs was actually vested. That Don Pedro was sincerely anxious for the welfare of Brazil, was, however, sufficiently manifested by his disorderly activity. In the army, in the navy, in the ministerial offices, and in the Custom-house, his interference was perpetual, and the confusion hence resulting may be easily imagined. His cares were, indeed, directed rather to points of detail than to general measures; and in these irregular sallies, he was unfortunately only too much encouraged by the ill-timed eulogies of the individuals by whom he was surrounded. Unable either to appreciate, or to comprehend, the vivifying influence of free institutions, their only object was to perpetuate their own power; and a modification of the Constitution, with the effect of rendering its provisions somewhat less democratic, at length came to be confidently spoken of in the circles of the aristocracy, as on the point of taking place.

The liberty of the press, though nominally guaranteed, had, in the meantime, been utterly

extinguished; the Presidents of the provinces still continued in the exercise of the most arbitrary acts; the functions of the legislative body were continually infringed upon by the Cabinet; and though nearly two years had elapsed since the dissolution of the first Assembly, there as yet appeared but very little probability of the early convocation of another. Emboldened by this retrograde line of policy, the leaders of the Absolutist party simultaneously drew up a number of petitions from various parts of the Empire, requesting the Emperor to abrogate the Constitution altogether; and strange as it may appear, though their request was declined, the requisitionists were yet singled out for marked distinction. Conrado Jacob de Niemeyer, the President of a military commission appointed for the trial of the rebels in Ceará, one of these individuals, was rewarded with the Order of the Crusader;—Chichorro, the Juiz de fora of Taubaté, proclaimed absolute Government in three towns in the province of San Paulo, and received thanks from the Minister of the Empire, the Count de Valença, in the name of His Imperial Majesty;—Teixera, a resident in Itaparica, who wrote to the Minister of Justice, Clemente Ferreira França, in 1824, in favour of absolute government, and who had since that period been employing his eloquence in the same cause, was shortly after this period created Baron of Ita-

parica; and, finally, the entire Cabildo of Monte Video, who had also presented a petition of a similar cast, were one and all honoured; the President by the "Commendaria," and the other members by the "Habito," of Christ.

A revolt, however, took place in this last-mentioned province, even before the ratification of the treaty with Portugal, which had not only the effect of precluding any change of government at this time, but which, though of apparent insignificance in its commencement, was yet fated to become the means of effecting an entire change in the future destinies of Brazil.

CHAPTER XIV.

Description of the Banda Oriental, and of the manners and character of its inhabitants—State of Monte Video—Petition of the Cabildo for absolute Government—Unique letter from the same body to Don Pedro—Conspiracy for throwing off the Brazilian yoke—Expedition of the thirty adventurers from Buenos Ayres—Defection of Rivera—Interference of Buenos Ayres—System of warfare pursued by the Gauchos—Battle of the Sarandi, on the 13th of October, 1825.

Before entering upon any detailed explanation of the events in which the revolt alluded to at the close of the preceding chapter had its rise, it may be well to give some account of the topography of the province in which it took place, as well as of the manners and character of its inhabitants.

The Banda Oriental, or, as it was formerly termed, the Cisplatine province, is situated on the margin of the River Plata, and is bounded on the west by the Uruguay, and on the east by the Atlantic ocean. On the north, it is partially separated from the province of Rio Grande by the Ybiqui Guazu, falling into the Uruguay, and the Jaguaraõ running into the Atlantic; and altogether comprehends a terri-

tory of one hundred leagues from north to south, by about eighty from east to west. The principal towns are the sea-ports of Monte Video, Maldonado, and Colonia del Sacramento. There are also a few towns of less importance in the interior, but Monte Video is the only place of any extensive commerce. Its exports consist exclusively of hides, horns, tallow, and jirked beef. The province contains no plantations of any description; nor, indeed, any agricultural establishments whatever, excepting a few small farms in the immediate vicinity of the towns. The interior consists of one vast expanse of undulating plains, utterly devoid of enclosures: the only boundaries being the small streams with which the province is intersected. The margins of these are overrun with thickets, which, from the prevalence of the sarandi, an aquatic shrub, can only be penetrated at certain passes opened for the convenience of travellers. On the open plains no trees are to be seen, excepting such as have been planted by the hand of man. Ostriches, deer, and wild horses abound throughout the province, and the fastnesses on the banks of the rivers are much infested by the ounce, and the jaguar, or American tiger.

The scanty population consists exclusively of Gauchos, or herdsmen, and their families. These are a mixed race, principally of Indian

and Spanish extraction; and their sole employment is the tending of cattle, which is invariably performed on horseback. Their dress is similar to the European costume, excepting that they wear a wrapper of baize around the waist, after the fashion of a Highland kilt, and are universally furnished with a poucho, or cloak, made from an oblong piece of cloth, through the centre of which is an orifice for the head of the wearer. From their infancy they are accustomed to mount the most ungovernable horses, and also at an early age to attain surprising expertness in the management of the lasso, and the bolas. The lasso is a compact rope of untanned hide, furnished with a noose at the end, with which the Gaucho will arrest, and entangle, any animal from amidst an entire herd. In its employment, the horse of the assailant is spurred on to a gallop; the Gaucho then coils up his lasso, and after giving it a few turns in the air, flings it with unerring certainty, around either the horns, the head, or the foot of the animal aimed at. The horses of the Gauchos are so well trained, that in the same moment in which the lasso flies, they wheel round, and by tightening the noose, utterly prevent the escape of the captive. They will thus arrest and throw down a bull in the midst of his most rapid career. The bolas, which were originally Indian weapons, are more formidable still. Three

heavy spherical stone balls, each enclosed in a casing of untanned hide, are attached to thongs about four feet in length, which are again attached to each other, at the opposite extremities. When thrown, the Gaucho seizes one of the balls, and whirls the other two over his head, until they separate, after the manner of the governing balls of a steam-engine. When stretched to their full extent, they are flung so, that the central point, where the thongs are attached, falls full upon the object aimed at; and the balls are then coiled round and round with irresistible violence.

In their manners, the Gauchos are hospitable and kind; yet they are also quarrelsome, unprincipled, and cruel. The wars which have agitated the Spanish provinces, ever since 1810, have in part contributed to this. Equipped only with his bolas, his lasso, and the knife invariably stuck in his girdle, every Gaucho is from his habits a soldier; animated by the spirit of nationality, and ever eager to engage in corporeal strife. Amongst such a people the affections can have but little sway, and home but few attractions. It is on the plains that their physical energies are developed, their emulation excited, and their triumphs achieved. Their habitations are wretched huts, constructed of wicker-work and clay, and thatched in such an imperfect manner as to afford a very inefficient

defence against the inclemencies of the weather. Their leisure hours are, for the most part, devoted to gaming, of which they are inordinately fond. When travelling through uninhabited districts, or when benighted, they are in the habit of forming a bed from their saddles, which consist of several detached pieces, and after manacling their horses, to sleep in the open air, under no covering but a poncho. Like the men, the women are also excellent equestrians, and perform all their journeys, however short the distance, on horseback.

Such are the inhabitants of the interior of the Banda Oriental; the province, whose subjugation by the Portuguese, as well as its subsequent cession to Brazil, has already been related. The inhabitants of the maritime towns have, on the other hand, adopted European customs, and present a striking contrast, both in manners and appearance, to the rude and uncivilized dwellers on the plains. Consisting principally of landed proprietors, and tradesmen, they possess ample means of instruction, and are often intelligent as well as affable.

By the terms of the capitulation agreed upon between General Lecor and Don Alvaro, it will be recollected, that the former was again to be invested with the possession of Monte Video. Notwithstanding the alleged right of a people "to elect or adopt whatever government they

think fit," so loudly enunciated on occasion of the previous incorporation, the identical province then in question was thus unceremoniously transferred by one foreign power to another; and this too in opposition to the remonstrances of a large portion of the inhabitants; for many were becoming somewhat impatient of foreign sway. Since the first occupation of Monte Video by the Portuguese, not a single public work had been engaged in. Though a few individuals had been enriched by the presence of an army, maintained principally at the cost of the Brazilian Government, yet the landed proprietors were, for the most part, involved in ruin; and during the repeated sieges of the city, the suburbs had been quite razed to the ground. So fearful had the besiegers been of any unexpected attack on their lines, that for miles into the interior, not a house, nor even a tree, had been left standing. All the immediate vicinity of the city had been again reduced to the solitude and stillness of the desert.

The outcries of the Oriental patriots were, however, made in vain. General Lecor again entered the city with his troops; and the Cabildo, ever obsequious to the ruling party, made oath to the Constitution, with the exception only of such articles as might interfere with the bases of the incorporation, on the 10th of May, 1824.

Finding, however, that these bases of the

incorporation were more likely to entail prejudice than benefit, the electors of the province were ultimately led to desire their abrogation; and on the occasion of the election of Deputies for the ensuing Legislative Assembly, they declared in a public act, their anxiety to be placed in every respect on the same footing with the other provinces of Brazil.

To General Lecor this intimation proved any thing but agreeable. He held his office of perpetual Governor by virtue of the articles of the incorporation; and anxious only for the permanence of office, or perhaps secretly influenced by the Cabinet in Rio, he recurred to the scheme of inducing the Cabildo to petition His Imperial Majesty against any ulterior innovations whatever. In pursuance of this object he availed himself of the services of José Raimundo Guerra, the Syndic of the province, a native of Old Spain, who drew up the celebrated letter, wherein the Cabildo, after attesting their fidelity to the cause of Brazil, entreated the Emperor that no interference might take place with their religion, habits, and customs; but that they might still be governed under the old regime, and all obstacles thus be removed from the march of the administration. This was in the month of December, 1824. Only six months before, the same corporation had made oath to the Constitution; yet this does not appear to

have been regarded as the slightest obstacle to the petition. The Members all affixed their signatures to the document, and moreover despatched a complimentary address to Don Pedro, on the same occasion, which may be worthy of particular note, as at once illustrating the character of its compilers, and the style of eloquence in vogue with these admirers of absolute sway. His Imperial Majesty had sent down his portrait to Monte Video, where it was allotted a conspicuous situation in the Municipal Chamber, a circumstance which gave rise to the effusion alluded to.

"Who is this," exclaimed the worthy members of the Cabildo, in this overflowing ebullition of loyalty; "who is this that approaches us majestically, with an august yet juvenile, sweet, and affable aspect, with a gallant and heroic air, and to whom our tribute of affection is rendered between perturbation and pleasure, as though we were in the presence of the Angel of the Lord? There can be no doubt it is Pedro the First! His martial appearance and his expressive countenance, alike indicate his presence. By an impulse of the most singular love, he is seated on the sublime throne, and resting his left hand on his fulminating sword, he has taken up with his unconquerable right hand his imperial diadem to place it on his chosen Monte

Video. The landscape represented, is like the real landscape; a proof that the portrait must also resemble the original. It is a fact, Sire, your Monte Video loves you, and can say to you as a bride, I am my lover's, and my lover is mine!"*

It could not be expected that this interesting and eloquent effusion, when coupled as it was with the request for the re-adoption of the paternal system of government, would be allowed to pass unrecompensed. The Members of the Corporation were rewarded in the manner before indicated, and General Lecor was shortly afterwards honoured with the title of Viscount. The requisition in question, nevertheless, appears to have been regarded either as premature, or what is more probable, to have considerably exceeded the wishes of the Emperor. The same members who had been privately rewarded, were publicly reproved; and Don Pedro, in his reply to the Cabildo, reminded them that, without infringing the Constitution to which he had made oath, he could not accede to their requisition; that all alterations were vested solely in the hands of the legislative Assembly, with the imperial sanction; and that, in all necessary cases, the Government was al-

* Dated Monte Video, 7th of December, 1824, and published in the Diario Fluminense.

ready authorized to suspend all the formalities guaranteeing individual liberty, as had been already done in the provinces of the north.

The indisposition of the patriot, or Buenos Ayrean party, to Brazilian supremacy, under any form, was, however, too deeply rooted to allow the permanence of tranquillity. A conspiracy for throwing off the foreign yoke was formed in Monte Video. The conspirators were upwards of two hundred in number; and, amongst them was Colonel Fructuozo Rivera, a native of Cordova, and an officer in the Brazilian army, under General Lecor. On previous occasions he had often distinguished himself in the service of the Empire, and had received many promises of advancement from the Court of Rio; yet they all proved insufficient to maintain him in his allegiance. Having finally determined on the adoption of hostilities, the conspirators sent over emissaries to request assistance from Buenos Ayres.

The Government of that city was as yet unwilling to afford any direct aid to the Cisplatine patriots; yet subscriptions in their favour were openly entered into; insurrection was every where advocated; and arms and ammunition were prepared for the revolters. In the undisguised manner in which this was done, much imprudence was evinced. Long ere the plans of the conspirators were matured, the

Argos, a Buenos Ayrean Gazette, had the temerity to speak of Fructuozo Rivera as a partizan.

This officer, however, managed to remove the suspicions of the Court of Rio, by publishing a Manifesto, dated February the 13th, 1825, wherein he declared, that he would ever defend the previous incorporation with the good faith incumbent on a man of honour, and a soldier. These professions, it need hardly be remarked, were insincere, or at least equivocal. At this very period he was in correspondence with the enemy; and, with his knowledge and collusion, a party of thirty-three men, at the head of whom was Colonel Juan Antonio Lavalleja, crossed the river from Buenos Ayres, with the intent of proclaiming rebellion throughout the Banda Oriental.

Lavalleja was a native of Monte Video, who had long been noted for his uncompromising hostility to foreign supremacy. During the ministry of the Andradas, he had been designated by them as a declared enemy to the Empire, and his property had, in consequence, been subjected to sequestration. Since this period, he had resided principally in Buenos Ayres, where he employed himself in commerce. His exalted patriotism, however, became the cause of throwing him into a very different career. On a dark and stormy night in

March, 1825, he crossed the river, as before stated, in an open boat, along with thirty-two other bold spirits, and landed unobserved at Las Vacas, on the northern bank. Several cases of arms and ammunition were also brought over, but were for the moment deposited in an Estancia, or cattle farm, near Colonia, while Lavalleja and his companions employed themselves in scouring the country for recruits.

Whatever may be thought of the prudence of this little band of adventurers, it is difficult to refrain from admiring that intrepid spirit, which could induce them, with their slender resources, to bid defiance to the power of the Emperor of Brazil. But they were not left long alone. Rivera joined them on the 17th of April, and the inhabitants of the plains flocked round them from every quarter. And now commenced a guerilla war, in which the skirmishes in every instance terminated in favour of the Gauchos. They were few in number, but on horseback they were far superior to their opponents; and they, moreover, possessed a perfect knowledge of the face of the country.

Intelligence of Rivera's defection in the meantime reached Rio de Janeiro, whence two thousand men were immediately embarked for the disaffected province. Admiral Lobo was also despatched with a small naval force, to notify to the Buenos Ayrean government, that unless

they abstained from further aid to the revolters, and recalled their subjects now under arms in the Banda Oriental, His Imperial Majesty would repel force by force, being determined to protect the political rights of his Cisplatine subjects. To this communication the Government of Buenos Ayres replied, that the actual insurrection was the work of the Oriental people alone; that the supplies furnished from Buenos Ayres had been bought either with the money, or on the credit, of private individuals in the stores of the city, which were open to all alike, whether friends or enemies; that they were not aware that any of their subjects were in the Banda Oriental; and that, even if such were the case, the laws of the Republic would not authorize them to recall their citizens from a territory over which they possessed no control. Moreover, they added, in order to evince unequivocally their amicable disposition towards Brazil, they would put in execution a project, which they had long before formed, of sending up an Envoy to the Court of Rio, but that they would no longer condescend to carry on a diplomatic correspondence with the Admiral.

Notwithstanding this plausible language, it became daily more and more apparent that these ambitious republicans were far from observing the neutrality professed. They esta-

blished a line of troops along the Uruguay, without pretext and without notifying the same to the Court of Rio; they allowed a number of armed vessels, appertaining to unknown individuals, to be fitted out in the roads; and, finally, on occasion of the Brazilian Consul having been insulted by the populace, they refused to give any adequate satisfaction.

The guerilla war in the Cisplatine meanwhile continued as before. According to the "Diario Fluminense," the revolters were time after time routed with total loss; yet from some unexplained fatality, they appeared to acquire fresh forces from every defeat. Like the Parthians of old, they fought as they fled. They achieved their successes by avoiding all direct collision; and by the speed of their movements, and their unsystematic mode of warfare, set at nought the profound tactics of the Imperial leaders.

When least expected, they would sweep like a whirlwind round the outskirts of the Brazilian army; throw down the horses with their bolas; entangle the riders in their lassos; and, after depriving the unfortunate wretches of life, again instantaneously disappear. Pursuit was out of the question. Not only were the Gauchos superior horsemen, but as they made a practice of driving off the cattle before them, and burning up every blade of grass in the route of their enemies, they obliged the Brazilians to

burthen themselves with stores, provisions, and fodder, while they themselves were unincumbered. Yet their triumphs were not owing to mere physical superiority alone. There was another cause, to the agency of which they were more than all indebted for their victories. They were volunteers, and they were all animated by the spirit of nationality; whereas the Brazilian troops acting against them were, for the most part, either conscripts or foreigners, who, though brave, had not their hearts in the cause. It was not as in the war for independence, where every freeman felt alike his interests and his honour engaged in the struggle. In the present instance, the common soldiers regarded the issue of the contest with comparative indifference. They were neither more nor less than mere machines; and their every movement was mechanical. Amongst the Gauchos, on the other hand, "*La Patria!*" was the rallying cry. It is not, then, surprising that a handful of men should have harassed an army. Enthusiasm in the cause of their native country lent wings to their speed, and gave an edge to their sabres.

No decisive action, however, occurred until the 12th of October, by which time the Gaucho force was considerably augmented; and they were, moreover, well supplied with fire-arms from Buenos Ayres. Having on this day dis-

covered the Imperial army in a disadvantageous position, on a site denominated "El Sarandi," they commenced the attack, and a general engagement took place; wherein, strange as it may appear, the followers of the band of thirty-three, who had a few months before crossed the River Plata by night, in an open boat, defeated upwards of 2,200 troops of the line.

The intelligence soon reached Rio de Janeiro, where it had the effect of convincing the Emperor, that either the Oriental province must be for ever ceded by Brazil, or a more vigorous policy adopted. By the advice of his Ministry he decided on the latter step. In the columns of the "Diario Fluminense," the fatal combat of the Sarandi was transformed into an important and decisive victory; yet on the 13th of December following, war, offensive and defensive, was declared against Buenos Ayres.

CHAPTER XV.

Spirit of the Administration—Concessions of titulary honours, and their effect—Treaties with the British Government —The Emperor sails for Bahia, in February, 1826—Pamphlet of Chapuis—Its effect, and the subsequent banishment of the Writer—Death of Don John VI.—The Regency of Portugal declare in favour of Don Pedro, who consequently assumes the Crown—Grant of a Constitution to the Portuguese—Policy of the appointment of an Hereditary Senate—Projected marriage of Donna Maria to her uncle Don Miguel.

NOTWITHSTANDING the growing importance of the war, the same principles of government were still acted upon in Rio de Janeiro. Instead of striving after the further development of the system nominally adopted, the Administration appear to have made it their chief object to enter upon a rivalry with the old Courts of Europe. Diplomatic agents, many of whom were still in their teens, were despatched to all the Continental Governments; French Figurantes, and Italian Sopranos, were allured to Rio, and engaged at the Imperial Opera House; and Parades and Processions were provided for the people with as great a zeal, as though within the phrase "*panem et circenses*," were centred

alike all the cares and attributes of a Constitutional Government. In the concession of titulary honours, the same spirit was also made apparent. Scarcely had the independence been guaranteed by the treaty of August, when His Imperial Majesty celebrated the occasion of his birth-day on the ensuing 12th of October, by a creation of Nobility, comprehending one Count, seventeen Viscounts, and twenty-one Barons, besides Commendadores, and Knights of different Orders, innumerable.

It cannot be said, that either this, or any of the future distributions of honorary Insignia, fulfilled the effect intended. Unaccustomed, under the absolute government, to the presence of either nobility or large proprietors, the Brazilians, as a people, had contracted the habit of regarding all, excepting those placed in authority over them, as their equals; and the system of castes, introduced by the Institution in question, had all along proved highly offensive to the national vanity. Moreover, not only were the titles conceded often misapplied, but as for every badge there was a crowd of aspirants, for every one who went away satisfied, numbers were necessarily disappointed. Had the services for which these favours were granted been obvious, or had they even been conferred by a law, there could have been no cause of complaint; but as they were all conceded arbi-

trarily, according to the decision of the Emperor alone, the neglected claimants all united in condemning His Majesty's unjust partiality, and in bitterly lamenting his unfortunate want of discernment. As was jestingly observed, by many of the Royalists themselves, more Republicans were made by these honorary promotions, than by all the machinations of the Democrats.

One just and beneficent measure, to which the Ministry at this period gave their assent, ought not, however, to be passed over in silence. This was a treaty with the British Government for the final abolition of the Slave Trade; a measure not less desirable in a political, than in a moral point of view. A treaty, whereby this traffic was limited to the South of the Equator, had been previously entered into, between Great Britain and Portugal, on the occasion of the Congress of Vienna, in 1815. By a subsequent Convention, dated the 28th of July, 1817, it was further stipulated, that all vessels engaged in the Slave Trade should be provided with passports, signifying the legality of the voyage; that the right of search should be conceded to all vessels of war; and that a mixed commission, formed of English and Portuguese jointly, should be appointed, for the purpose of deciding on the legality of the captures.

Since this period, the separation of Brazil

from the mother country, had rendered a renewal of the treaties previously entered into with the Court of Portugal a matter of necessity; at the same time that it had given the British Government an increased claim on the Administration in Rio. A further treaty was, in consequence, acceded to by the Emperor; by the terms of which it was stipulated, that in four years after its ratification, the Slave Trade should entirely cease. The vessels of war appertaining to each of the contracting powers, were mutually invested with the right of search; and all subsequent continuation of the traffic, whether under the British, or the Brazilian flag, became punishable as piracy. Unfortunately, however, the conditions of this, as well as of a new Commercial Treaty, were negotiated by Sir Charles Stuart without sufficient authority from his Government; and as there were in each of these instruments stipulations of an unsatisfactory nature, the English Premier, Mr. Canning, thought fit to prevent their subsequent ratification in Great Britain. Mr. Canning was, moreover, much annoyed by the publication of these Treaties in the official journal of the Brazilian Government; and on this account, instead of renewing the negotiations in Rio, he determined on bringing them to a conclusion in London.

Exaggerated rumours regarding the Carta de

Lei lately issued in Portugal had, in the meantime, reached Bahia, and serious apprehensions of recolonization had been excited in consequence. The Europeans were there fewer in number than in Rio de Janeiro; their influence in society was less, and the remembrance of the suffering experienced during the previous siege was still rankling in the minds of the inhabitants. Much animosity was thus excited, and the cry of "Death to the Portuguese!" rang through the city, notwithstanding all the efforts of the President to smother it. The knowledge of this disquietude induced Don Pedro to visit that city; whither he went accompanied by the Empress. In his preparations for the voyage, he acted with the same celerity which had before characterized him on similar occasions, and arrived there unexpectedly in the month of February, 1826. Happily, the ferment was as yet but in its commencement; and the personal assurances of His Majesty, aided by the co-operative measures of the Marquis de Quiluz, at this time President, were soon found amply sufficient to restore peace and order throughout the entire province.

The equanimity of the Ministry was, nevertheless, put severely to the test, during the absence of the Emperor, by the unexpected appearance of a pamphlet entitled "*Reflections*

on the treaty of Independence, and the Carta de Lei issued by His most Faithful Majesty." The author, Pierre Chapuis, a Frenchman by birth, had for some time been Editor of the Regulador de Madrid. Falling, however, under the displeasure of the Spanish Government, he had removed to Lisbon, where he again resumed his occupation as a Journalist, until persecution at length compelled him to quit that city, and to seek a refuge in Rio de Janeiro: where he published the pamphlet alluded to, soon after his arrival.

As has been already stated, the public press had been all but annihilated. The banishment of the Editor of the Correio, by the Andradas, the subsequent exile of the Andradas themselves, and lastly, the adoption of the same arbitrary step in Maranham towards the Editor of the Censor, had jointly contributed to this. The minor journals had entirely disappeared. A few detached pamphlets from the pen of Jozé de Silva Lisboa, a Royalist, subsequently created Viscount de Cayru, and the columns of the Diario Fluminense, were at this period the sole vehicles of political information; and this last mentioned publication, the worthy rival of the only gazette published in Rio during the time of the absolute Government, but very seldom condescended to address the understandings of its readers. A few unimportant official edicts, a shipping list, an

extract or two from the European Journals, concerning Spain, or Turkey, with occasionally a long diatribe on the horrors of Democracy, formed the sum total of its contents. Regarding the Carta de Lei, though an object of paramount importance to every reflecting being in the Empire, not a single word was said. From time to time, bulletins appeared from the theatre of war in the South, yet as they were invariably in favour of the Imperial cause, whilst the contest appeared to be as far from termination as ever, people at last began to suspect their authenticity.

Such was the state of periodical literature in Brazil, when Chapuis, irritated at this poverty, determined on entering upon a bolder career. In his "Reflections," he accordingly subjected the Carta de Lei of His most Faithful Majesty to an analysis, by which he succeeded in exposing, in a striking light, the wonderful absurdity by which the title and office formerly conferred on Don Pedro by the unanimous acclamation of the people, were here spoken of as a boon conceded by Don John VI. The acknowledgment of His Imperial Majesty as heir apparent to the Crown of Portugal was, moreover, reprobated as an assumption calculated only to re-awaken the fear of recolonization; and the continued connection between the two Kingdoms which had been urged by Mr. Can-

ning, and which by the terms of the Carta de Lei was distinctly implied, was also characterized as replete with peril; since Brazil was thus unwittingly rendered responsible to foreign nations for all the mal-administration of the Portuguese Cabinet. "In case of a war in Europe," urged the author, "the enemies of Portugal might at once fall upon Brazil; take her vessels, annihilate her commerce, and blockade her ports; and this solely on account of this unwarrantable assertion. The words of the Carta de Lei are in direct contradiction to the spirit of the Treaty, and one of the two documents is thus necessarily invalid."

The consternation of the Government at this audacious language in the mouth of a stranger, while no Brazilian had as yet ventured to meddle with the subject, may be easily conceived. The Diario Fluminense assailed him as an anarchist banished from every country in Europe, on account of his revolutionary principles, and now come to Brazil for the sole purpose of fomenting dissension. An attempted refutation of the pamphlet was also put forth by a Friar of the name of Sampayo, the ex-champion of the Apostolado; but as, for the accomplishment of his object, it became necessary to reprint the most obnoxious passages, the effect obtained was directly at variance

with the one intended. This very opposition was by Chapuis regarded as a triumph; and had its influence in inducing him to undertake the management of a newspaper, in the columns of which he retorted with interest on the assailants of his essay. Misled by a decree of the Minister of the Empire, wherein the banishment of Abranches by Lord Cochrane, was censured as a step which could be tolerated only in a Government where *will* had precedence of *law*, he proceeded to arrogate to himself the office of a Censor on the proceedings of the Administration. Comparatively a stranger in Rio de Janeiro, he had formed his opinions on politics from a perusal of the Constitutional Code, without sufficiently ascertaining whether its enactments were ever carried into execution. It may, however, be pleaded as some extenuation of his error, that it was of very brief duration. In less than a week after the return of their Majesties from Bahia, whence they arrived on the 1st of April, 1826, he was, without any previous intimation, arrested, thrown into prison, and thence sent on board ship, and compelled to quit the Empire.

The forcible removal of the unfortunate Editor would, probably, have still further augmented the public distrust, had not a circumstance occurred at this crisis, which at once put

the intentions of His Majesty to the test, and henceforward effected an entire change throughout the political relations of Brazil.

This was the unexpected death of his most faithful Majesty, Don John VI., who expired in Lisbon on the 10th of March, 1826, not without strong suspicions of being poisoned. During the short illness preceding his dissolution he appointed a Regency, consisting of the Princess Donna Isabella Maria, the Patriarch, the Duke de Cadaval, the Marquis de Villada, and the Count dos Arcos; but he did not proceed to any nomination of his successor. By many it has been assumed as a matter of regret, that the Crown should not have been bequeathed by testament, either to Don Pedro, or to the Infante Don Miguel; yet it does not appear to have been recollected, that any disposition to this effect would have been in direct opposition to the fundamental Code enacted on the first consolidation of the Portuguese Monarchy, and subsequently sanctioned by the Cortes convoked in 1640. Even the most despotic governments in Europe, as for example Russia, have their fundamental laws of succession. By virtue of the one in question, and it is necessary to remark that it had never been abrogated, the Crown of Portugal descends to the male heirs of the Monarch; and only in default of male issue can it be placed on the head of a female. The

reigning Monarch is not, under any pretext, permitted to nominate his successor. In case of vacancy, this privilege is by the same authority declared to be vested solely in the nation. Foreigners are also expressly prohibited from assuming the regal authority, and the last of the Philips was actually excluded under this pretext.

Notwithstanding, therefore, the terms of the Carta de Lei, whereby the right of succession to the Portuguese throne was conceded to Don Pedro, he appears to have clearly forfeited all legal claim to it, in having constituted himself a Brazilian. Considering, nevertheless, that the interests of Portugal could be best furthered by the conservation of the two Crowns in the same line of the Royal Family of Braganza, relying on the support of the English Cabinet, and personally indisposed towards Don Miguel, the Regency decided on the proclamation of Don Pedro as Monarch, and a ship was immediately despatched to Rio de Janeiro with the tidings.

The vessel arrived at her destination on the 24th of April, 1826, on which occasion public demonstrations of mourning were adopted for the space of three days. Don Pedro, in the meantime, proceeded to assume the rank of King of Portugal, but only for the express purpose of immediately abdicating in favour of his

daughter, the Princess Donna Maria de Gloria, at this time in the 8th year of her age. If, however, the assumption of the vacant throne by the Emperor were open to the imputation of illegality, this abdication in favour of Donna Maria was still more so. Even in case of the admission of Don Pedro's claims, the Crown ought to have descended to his son, at this time five months old; and not, during the existence of that son, to a daughter. The situation of Don Pedro was, however, one of much embarrassment. By the Constitution of Brazil, all alliances, or federations, opposed to the independence of the Empire were expressly prohibited; and he had on this ascertained the state of public feeling too justly, not to know that any attempt to re-unite the two Crowns might become the signal for a second revolution throughout Brazil. His son was, moreover, an infant; born since the proclamation of the independence; the nobility of Portugal, jealous beyond measure of their privileges, and indisposed to the slightest innovation, were more likely to support the claims of Don Miguel, than those of His Imperial Majesty; and the Constitutional party in that kingdom, though possessed of little influence, were clamorous in favour of a representative government. The only plan for the conciliation of all parties, and the one finally adopted by Don Pedro, lay, in the first instance, in the

celebration of a marriage between the Infante Don Miguel and the Queen Donna Maria; and, secondly, in the grant of a Constitutional Charter; whereby, whilst the people were entrusted with the privilege of choosing their own representatives, the nobility were created an hereditary House of Peers. Sir Charles Stuart, who was on this occasion admitted into the Imperial Councils, and by whom the idea of placing Donna Maria on the throne of Portugal, is said to have been first suggested to the Emperor, objected in part to the foregoing project, on the ground, that the grant of an entirely new Constitution could not fail to awaken the jealousy of many of the European powers. On this account, the English Ambassador advised a convocation of the ancient states of the Kingdom; a measure against which no such objection could be urged. To this, however, His Majesty replied, that if it were necessary again to call together the said Cortes of the nation, many alterations would be found indispensable, from these convocations having been in disuse for many years; and that this Assembly might thus become dangerous to the government, or, at least, give rise to great perturbation, from the facility with which it could take to itself the denomination and prerogatives of a Constituent Assembly. The Emperor thus deemed it most expedient to affix the precise limits to the Le-

gislature, and a Constitution formed on the model of that of Brazil was in consequence conceded to the Kingdom of Portugal. The veto of the Sovereign was, however, rendered absolute instead of suspensory, and the elective Senate superseded by an hereditary House of Peers. Regarding the first of these changes, a difference of opinion may exist, yet the policy of the second appears sufficiently obvious. Unquestionably, the nomination of Senators from a regard for their qualifications for the office must in the abstract ever lie less open to exception, than their appointment from the accident of birth; but, without attempting here to enter upon any analysis of the motives of Don Pedro, it may be remarked, that an Institution which had its origin in the peculiar circumstances of Brazil, could not have proved altogether applicable to the existing state of Portugal. In the former country, no aristocracy could, at the period of the independence, be said to exist, whereas, in the latter, they were an opulent and powerful body; who, if not allowed to take their share in the legislation, would naturally have directed their efforts to the overthrow of the government. Whatever may have been the unfitness of many of their number for the delicate and complicated task imposed upon them, they were on the whole less dangerous as legislators than as conspi-

rators; and their appointment as a Senate thus appears to have been not only judicious, but imperatively called for, in the existing state of the mother-country.

Having finally organized the Charter, and issued an act of amnesty to all confined for political offences, the Emperor abdicated the Crown of Portugal in favour of his daughter, on the 3d of May, 1826; with, however, a proviso, rendering the validity of the act dependent on the future marriage of the Queen with Don Miguel. This marriage the late King had long had in contemplation, and it is spoken of by Don Pedro in his correspondence with that Monarch. It had since then been advocated by Mr. Canning, and had been a matter of common conversation in Portugal, where the union of persons standing towards each other in that degree of affinity is frequent. The violent and dissolute character of the Prince was the only material objection to the step, but it was on this account proposed that he should be prevented from having the custody of the Queen until after the expiration of her minority.

On the whole, the projected scheme was sufficiently feasible in appearance; but, before it could be carried into execution, obstacles were found to its development, which had in no wise entered into the calculations of Don Pedro.

CHAPTER XVI.

Convocation of the Legislative body on the 6th of May, 1826 — Law regarding the nomination of Senators perverted by Don Pedro — Speech on the opening of the Chambers — Blockade of Buenos Ayres — Operations of the Navy — Procrastinating policy of General Lecor — Contrast of manners between the South American Spaniards and the Brazilians — Timidity of the House of Deputies — State of Finance — Dissatisfaction of the House concerning the late Treaty with Portugal — Legislative measures — Close of the Chambers, and Speech of His Majesty on that occasion.

Under different pretexts Don Pedro had hitherto deferred the convocation of the House of Assembly, but the utter exhaustion of the treasury occasioned by the war in the South, and the consequent necessity for further resources, appeared at length to have rendered the assistance and co-operation of the nation through the medium of its Representatives, a matter of absolute necessity. The election of the Deputies had already taken place in 1824, according to the forms prescribed by the Constitution; but, in the choice of the Senators, the Emperor had without materially infringing on the letter, found means to evade the spirit of the law altogether, and to introduce into this

body a number of individuals who were little more than the blind instruments of his will. As it has been before stated, in the abstract of the Constitution, His Majesty ought to have appointed one member from among the three first names of each list. In several instances it, however, happened, that the same members were deputed for two places; of which His Majesty took advantage, and after nominating the members in question for *one place,* he erased their names from all the other lists, and nominated the fourth, or even the fifth, member instead of the third. An example may render this somewhat more clear. The Emperor was anxious to nominate the fifth member for Goyaz instead of the third, and the two members first on the list for Goyaz, had also a precedence in other provinces. After, therefore, nominating these individuals for other provinces, he erased their names from the lists of Goyaz, and counted the fifth member on the list as the third.

The meeting of the General Assembly finally took place on the 6th of May, 1826, when His Imperial Majesty addressed the members. He expressed his regret that he should formerly have been compelled to dissolve the Constituent Chamber, and stated the continuance of peace in all the provinces, excepting the Cisplatine, where a number of ungrateful individuals had revolted, and were supported by the Govern-

ment of Buenos Ayres. For the defence of the national honour, he said, it therefore became necessary that the integrity of the Empire should be maintained.

"The independence of Brazil," the Emperor continued, "had been acknowledged by his august Father, Don John VI. on the 15th of November preceding, and the recognitions of Austria, England, Sweden, and France, had since succeeded. That of the United States of America, had already preceded these.

"Since then, intelligence had arrived of the death of Don John, which was the cause of much grief to the Emperor, who, finding himself the legitimate King of Portugal, at a period when he had least expected it, had been guided in his conduct solely by his wishes for the welfare of Brazil. On this account he had abdicated, and given up all his indisputable rights in favour of his daughter Donna Maria da Gloria, now Queen of Portugal." His Majesty then concluded by expressing a hope that even the most incredulous would now acknowledge him as *the Perpetual Defender of Brazil*, and by recommending to the Assembly measures for the dissemination of instruction, attention to the public establishments, and such steps as might secure respect to the constituted authorities. The two Houses of Legislature afterwards se-

parated, each to perform its allotted duties in the form prescribed by the Constitution.

A squadron of upwards of thirty sail were, in the meantime, blockading the river Plata, under the command of Admiral Lobo. The city of Buenos Ayres, as well as her dependencies, had been declared in a state of blockade on the 21st of December, 1825, but by an ulterior communication from the Brazilian Admiral, foreign vessels were allowed to leave the port until the 13th of February.

The Government of Buenos Ayres had anticipated these hostilities, and had made all the preparations in their power for repelling them; having purchased a merchant ship which they fitted up as a corvette of twenty-six guns, four brigs, and several small craft; in all, however, a very inefficient force compared with that of their opponents. These vessels were almost entirely manned by English sailors, and a few Chinos, or native Indians from the province of Entre-Rios, and were placed under the command of Admiral Brown, an English Officer, who had already distinguished himself in the service of the Republic during the struggle for independence. In their declaration of war dated the 2d of January, 1826, they, moreover, stated that letters of marque, authorizing privateers to act against the vessels and property of the Em-

peror of Brazil, would be accorded to all who should ask for them.

The equipment of the newly purchased vessels not being complete on the first declaration of the blockade, the Brazilians were but little molested until the 4th of February, when Admiral Brown bore down on their squadron, at this period consisting of seventeen sail, including three corvettes, and three brigs of war. Notwithstanding their superiority of force, the Brazilians declined action, and stood away from their opponents. Admiral Brown nevertheless continued cruising in their vicinity, and on the 9th succeeded in engaging three corvettes, the united force of which he alone withstood for some time, unsupported by any of the remaining vessels under his command. Being, at length, compelled to haul off, he rejoined his own vessels, and on the same day by superior manœuvring succeeded in bringing on a general action; in which, incredible as it may appear, the Brazilians were considerably worsted, and compelled to retire towards Ensenada, a small port about eight leagues below Buenos Ayres; where they for some time remained stationary.

The Buenos Ayrean squadron hereon proceeded to attack Colonia, a small town on the northern bank of the river, ill provided with ammunition, and besieged by land. Here, however, they lost one of their finest vessels,

which struck upon a reef, and also several gun-boats, which fell into the hands of their antagonists. Brown nevertheless maintained his position, until the arrival of the entire Brazilian squadron, on the 7th of March, compelled him to stand away for the outer roads of Buenos Ayres.

Having succoured Colonia, the Brazilian naval force next sailed in the direction of Monte Video. Admiral Brown in the meantime continued cruising about the river, and on the 11th of April unexpectedly ran into the port of Monte Video, where fifteen Brazilian vessels of war, and amongst them two frigates, were lying at anchor. The Commander of the Imperial squadron happened to be on shore at the time, and Brown, after reconnoitering, was thus enabled to make good his retreat without even coming into action.

Finding, however, that he could obtain no decisive advantage with his small vessels, he came to the resolution of attempting to carry the Brazilian Flag Ship, a frigate of fifty guns, by boarding. The attempt was accordingly made on the night of the 27th of April; but, unfortunately for the success of its projector, on his arrival alongside the vessel in question, some uncertainty arose as to whether she were the one they were in search of, or the English frigate Doris, at this time in the river Plata.

For the purpose of satisfying all doubts, Brown hailed her in English, and on receiving an unsatisfactory answer, poured in a broadside and prepared to board. The frigate, however, answered his fire vigorously, with artillery and musquetry, and at this critical moment one of the Buenos Ayrean Brigs coming up a-stern, ran between the combatants in such a manner as to preclude all possibility of boarding. During the time lost in extricating the three vessels, a number of the Brazilian men of war had got under weigh, and it was resolved by Brown to discontinue the action. He accordingly stood off, and was pursued by the Brazilians until day-break. On rejoining the remaining vessels of his squadron a partial action took place; but this, like all preceding it, terminated without any decisive result to either party.

For several weeks afterwards both parties abstained alike from hostilities, but the Buenos Ayreans continued cruising about the river to facilitate the passage of foreign merchant ships which were almost daily breaking the blockade. The ill success of Admiral Lobo meanwhile led to his recall to Rio de Janeiro, where he was shortly after his arrival summoned to appear before a Court Martial, for the inefficient direction and application of the forces confided to his command, as also for abandoning Martin Garçia, a small island commanding the en-

trance of the Uruguay; in itself an important post, and one which had already been fortified at a considerable expense by the Brazilians.

While these events were occurring, the Imperial troops continued to keep possession of Monte Video. After the defeat at El Sarandi, they had taken up their head-quarters in this city; yet such was the audacity of the Gauchos that they would frequently ride up to the very walls in hopes of plunder. A reward of three contos of reis was at length offered for *the head of the infamous Juan Antonio Lavalleja*, and another of four contos for that of the traitor Fructuozo Rivera, but the uncivilized inhabitants of the plains were either unable to read, or unwilling to accede to the terms pointed out in the proclamation. Notwithstanding the nominal blockade, boats were also passing continually to, and from, Buenos Ayres; the periodicals of this city were circulated throughout Monte Video; and, what was of still more importance, detachments after detachments of troops were transmitted to the Banda Oriental, for the purpose of reinforcing the revolters. Like the Gauchos of the northern bank, they were inured to the hardships of a wandering life, and were, moreover, soldiers by occupation, in the daily habit of contention with the Indians of the Pampas, a wild and barbarous race, between many tribes of whom and

the white inhabitants there still exists a war of extermination. It could not be expected that Brazilian conscripts, utterly devoid of enthusiasm, could in a war of skirmishes contend with success against such troops as these. While, however, admitting to the fullest extent the physical as well as moral inferiority of the Imperial troops, it would be somewhat unjust to refrain from bestowing upon them that commendation which is really their due. With regard to precision of movements, watchwords, signals, and all the formalities and minutiæ of military science, which the Gauchos in their unsophisticated ignorance affected to despise, they had attained a proficiency truly astonishing; yet even this proficiency proved at times but a feeble guarantee against the irregular assaults of the enemy. They were unable to venture outside the walls without danger of being cut off by their opponents; and on one occasion it is recorded, that the sentinel on guard at the gates of Monte Video was actually *lassoed*, and carried off by a Gaucho.

The philosophic spirit with which they bore these petty annoyances is perhaps even more praiseworthy than their high state of discipline. General Lecor, in whose hands the entire conduct of the campaign had been placed, had from his dilatory policy received the very general appellation of "Fabius secundus;" and

his young officers were, with few exceptions, too well satisfied with the attractions of Monte Video, to be at all anxious to quit it for the plains.

The gaiety of the South American Spaniards, and particularly of the females, as contrasted with the monotonous gravity of the Portuguese and their Brazilian descendants, arrests in a remarkable degree the attention of every traveller. In Brazil there is but little social intercourse even amongst intimate friends. The women are retained in almost conventual seclusion, and have but little voice in society. In Monte Video and Buenos Ayres, on the contrary, every evening is dedicated either to the theatre, the ball, or the tertulia, or soirée; and neither war, nor revolution, nor famine, have as yet been able to change the national bias in this respect. Hence the superior attractions of the Spanish ladies. Their manners are in general fascinating; and though imperfectly educated, their conversation is replete with wit and variety. It cannot be surprising then, that the contrast should have had its weight with the Brazilian officers. They found superior attractions among the Spanish ladies, and a greater facility of access to society than they had as yet experienced among their own countrywomen; and many marriages were the result even on the verge of an expected campaign.

Thus were the forces of the procrastinating General retained in Monte Video, in complete inaction, throughout nearly the entire year of 1826.

The House of Deputies in Rio de Janeiro were meanwhile pursuing their career with timidity. They had but little faith in the stability of the new order of things. Many of them regarded their convocation as a step adopted for the purpose of amusing the public, and liable at all times to terminate by another act similar to the dissolution of the Constituent Chamber. Uncertain, moreover, of the degree of support which they might look for from the people, and fearful of coming in collision with the supreme power, they proceeded in their labours with apprehension. The report of the financial affairs of the Empire given in by the Marquis de Baependy was, nevertheless, any thing but satisfactory. A loan of 3,686,200*l.* sterling, effected by the Marquis de Barbacena, then Felisberto Brant, in 1824, had been entirely expended, and six millions of cruzades of copper coined, and issued at about four times its intrinsic value. Ten millions of cruzades in paper had also been borrowed from the insolvent Bank, a step for which the Ministry could not even quote the authority of a precedent. Notwithstanding all the heavy expenses incurred during the war of the independence, the Andrada Ministry reli-

giously abstained from all augmentation of the obligations existing on the part of the Government towards this establishment. Their successors were, however, less scrupulous; although the impolicy of further loans, under existing circumstances, was glaring. The value of the notes sank in proportion to their increased issue; the agio on the precious metals rose in a corresponding ratio, and the public were thus compelled to bear the loss incurred; whilst the Government were paying interest on the loan. Had the administration, instead of having succoured itself by notes from the Bank, employed its own paper-money, the guarantee to the public would have been equally good, the payment of interest might have been avoided, and the agio on the precious metals would probably have been less; for this paper might have circulated throughout the Empire, whereas the circulation of the notes of the Bank extended only to Rio de Janeiro and the other provinces, Bahia and San Paulo, in which, branch Banks had been established.

In the other departments of finance, an equally flagrant system of mismanagement appeared to have been adopted. Altogether the amount of the public debt had been tripled since the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, yet, according to the Minister, there was no occasion whatever for disquiet on this account.

"Brazil," observed his Excellency, in his report to the House, "must submit to these expenses which are unavoidable in the formation of a mighty Empire; wherein it is necessary to create every thing, and to encourage every thing with a *large and generous hand*, if it be intended that we take our rank among nations of the first order. Far be from us either indecision or inquietude from these embarrassments! Let us rather fix our attention on the brilliant future reserved for this nascent Empire!"

Futile and unsatisfactory as was all this, the House refrained from any direct strictures on the topic, and it was only concerning a point on which they regarded their nationality as interested, that they ventured on a remonstrance with the existing authorities. The time had at length arrived when it became impossible any longer to conceal the particulars of the secret convention annexed to the Treaty of the 29th of August, 1825, and to their utter astonishment, the members were now, for the first time, made acquainted with the fact, that His Imperial Majesty had undertaken to pay from the Treasury of Brazil, an amount equivalent to 2,000,000*l.* sterling; the greater part of which sum had, as already stated, been contracted by Portugal, in 1823, for the express purpose of opposing the independence.

By the Constitution it was enacted, that all

treaties should be laid before the Assembly, as soon as the interest and security of the State might permit; yet, on the present occasion, the Minister had contented himself by a slight and insufficient exposition of facts unsupported by any document whatever.

After due deliberation on the topic, the Commissioners appointed for the inspection of the affairs of finance and diplomacy, gave it in as their impression, that the Minister ought to have laid before the House the full particulars of the secret convention, since they were not aware that either the interest or security of the State would have thus incurred any imminent peril, and no other reason could exempt him from the necessity of so doing. "To the Chambers," continued they, "it appertained to examine whether these treaties contained any matters which might be of prejudice or dishonour to the nation, and for which the Ministers entrusted with the negotiation might be deemed responsible: moreover, according to the Constitution, it was one of the attributes of the Chambers to make the application of funds necessary for such payments as the one entailed on Brazil by this Convention, though the language of the Minister seemed to imply that their intervention was not of any necessity."

The terms stipulated by the secret Convention, they evidently regarded as a degrading

manumission, for which there existed not the slightest necessity, and chiefly on this account, authentic copies of the Treaty and Convention in question, as well as of a Treaty of commerce with France by the terms of which the duties formerly paid on the imports from that nation were considerably diminished, were demanded by the Commissioners.

Inquiries were also made for some explicit information as to why the Treaties lately entered into by the British Government had not yet been ratified in London; as well as with regard to the appointment of diplomatic Agents in nearly all the Courts in Europe, before the Assembly had been enabled to decide either on the character, number, or emoluments of these individuals. In the report of the Minister it was stated, that the Emperor had organized, and would continue to organize the diplomatic corps in such a manner, that, without pressing heavily on the Treasury, he might have his diplomatic agents in all the principal Courts, and States, with which amicable relations were entertained. Yet, by the terms of the Constitution, he had, in this respect, been clearly usurping the functions of the legislative body.

These subjects do not, however, appear to have been fully cleared up before the Session again came to a close. The period of its du-

ration being limited to four months, and the quantity of business being excessive, much was necessarily left undone. A project of law fixing the responsibility of the Council and Ministers of State, a decree for the immediate institution of Universities in San Paulo and Olinda, and another for the augmentation of the stipend allotted to His Imperial Majesty, were the principal measures passed through the House of Deputies, and subsequently remitted to the Senate. No arrangements were adopted for bettering the state of the revenue, yet, on the 31st of August, the Government were authorized to complete the recruiting of the various military corps now existing, comprising altogether more than thirty thousand regular troops, in the entire Empire. The naval force it was also decided should be maintained at its present extent.

The principal measures decided upon during the same period in the Senate, for subsequent transmission to the Deputies, were a project for the naturalization of foreigners, another for the regulation of the provincial Councils, and a third regulating the attributes of the Ministers of State. Before the projects passed through the House of Deputies had been brought under discussion, however, His Imperial Majesty, on the 6th of September, closed the Session of the General Assembly in the following speech.

Like all documents of a similar nature, it may be regarded as the production of the Ministry, and along with such facts as will subsequently be adduced, may in some measure tend to elucidate their statesman-like views, and give some idea as to their average scale of intellect.

"August and most worthy Representatives of the Brazilian nation. The execution of the law is the first duty of all citizens. It appoints four months for the Sessions of this Assembly; they are concluded, the time for closing is therefore arrived, and on this account am I among you. The labours of this Session have not been so few but that they have given some laws, and also afforded hopes that in future, others may appear, I do not say all, but a great part of such as are necessary for the literal execution of the Constitution. The harmony reigning between the two Chambers, and the efforts which they have made for the happiness and the greatness of the nation, clearly show the patriotic spirit by which this Assembly finds itself animated.—My hopes have been consummated; the Sessions have begun and been closed, and prudence and wisdom have presided over them." "It now behoves the illustrious Senators and Deputies retiring into the different provinces of the Empire, that during the interval between this and the ensuing Session, they meditate on the mode of promoting the prosperity of the Em-

pire, and instil into the people obedience to the Government; showing them that whoever obeys the Government, obeys also the law, and that he who obeys the law, ensures to himself honour, and life, and prosperity.

"THE CONSTITUTIONAL EMPEROR AND PERPETUAL DEFENDER OF BRAZIL."

CHAPTER XVII.

Operations of the blockading force before Buenos Ayres—Impolicy of the Brazilian Minister of Marine—Brown's discomfiture on the 29th of July, 1826—Privateers—Land blockade of Monte Video—Enlistments in Brazil—Employment of foreign troops—Impolicy of the measure—Affairs of Buenos Ayres—Enthusiasm of the English in the service of that Republic—Voyage of Don Pedro to Rio Grande—Critical situation of Admiral Brown—Death of the Empress—Marchioness of Santos—Interment of the Empress—Her character—Payment of her debts by the Legislative Assembly.

On the recall of Admiral Lobo from the river Plata, Admiral Rodrigo Pinto Guedes was appointed to the command of the Brazilian squadron. Two frigates and several smaller vessels were at the same time added to the detachment off Buenos Ayres, which was placed under the command of Commodore Norton, an English Officer, and other measures were taken for enforcing the blockade in a more efficient manner. The Brazilian force was overwhelming; but, fortunately for the Buenos Ayreans, they themselves were in the possession of an almost impregnable position. The only anchorage before Buenos Ayres, consists

of an open roadstead, which is separated by a long bar of sand running parallel with the course of the river, into two divisions; denominated the inner and the outer roads. The inner roads, which are within the distance of a mile from Buenos Ayres, are from the shallowness of the water, inaccessible to vessels of heavy burthen; and are only connected with the outer roads by a narrow and circuitous channel, of difficult navigation. In this former anchorage the few vessels composing the Buenos Ayrean squadron were accustomed to lie, whilst the Admiral generally took his station in the connecting channel. Here, protected on one hand by a sand-bank running out to the distance of five or six miles, and, on the other, by the batteries of Buenos Ayres, they were completely out of the reach of the Brazilian squadron, which consisted principally of frigates, and other vessels of heavy burthen. Unfortunately for Brazil, motives of ostentation, and an anxiety to impress on foreign nations an exalted idea of the naval force of the new Empire, had led to the joint purchase and construction of a fleet but little qualified either for carrying on the war in the river Plata, or for the protection of the coasting trade. While small swift-sailing vessels would not only have been more easily equipped, but also more appropriate to the actual exigencies of the country, the ambition of Don Pedro and

the ill-judging policy of the Marquis de Paranagôa, the Minister of Marine, had hitherto provided frigates, corvettes, and other heavy vessels only.

The Buenos Ayreans might, in consequence, have remained for an indefinite period altogether unmolested, had not Brown, in the hope of surprising his opponents, had the temerity to quit his position on the night of the 29th of July, 1826. Being, however, but inadequately supported, and having a brave and intelligent officer to contend with, he had reason speedily to regret his precipitation. By the well-directed fire of the frigates, Brown's flag-ship was, before the following morning, reduced to an utter wreck, and had the utmost difficulty in regaining her former position, though towed in by gun-boats, and covered by the brig Republic, in which the Admiral re-hoisted his flag. From this period the Buenos Ayreans were, from the insignificance of their force, obliged to content themselves by remaining on the defensive; yet, by means of privateers, which they were continually fitting out, they shortly succeeded in rendering themselves more formidable than ever. These vessels were, for the most part, beautiful Baltimore built schooners, and brigs from one to twelve guns, manned by adventurers of all nations, English, Americans, Frenchmen, and Italians; in general individuals of dissolute

character, yet brave and reckless to the last degree. The inactivity of the Buenos Ayrean squadron enabled them to fill up their complement of men as quickly as they could be prepared for sea, and before many months had elapsed, the entire coast from Maranham to Rio Grande was infested by these unscrupulous depredators.

Vessels from all parts of the world were in the meantime arriving daily in the river Plata. Many of these were, at the time of departure, unaware of the existence of a blockade, and made no attempt to avoid the Imperial squadron. All were, however, taken possession of, and sent into Monte Video. Hence they were again despatched to Rio for adjudication; yet not, it is said, before the most valuable portion of their cargoes had been furtively abstracted by the Prize Agents; many of whom are known to have made considerable fortunes by these illicit depredations. It had long been confidently expected by the Brazilian Cabinet that, even without any decisive triumph on the part of the Imperial forces, the distress entailed on Buenos Ayres by the blockade, would compel the Government of this Republic to sue for peace. The national Bank had there suspended its payments, soon after the declaration of war; and the troops now in the Banda Oriental having been withdrawn from the Pampas, or plains of the inte-

rior, where their presence had hitherto been required to keep the Indians in check, there appeared every probability that a civil war would shortly commence in those districts. A similar consideration had also some weight with the Gauchos, but it was only to induce them to carry on the campaign with increased vigour; and, finding it impossible to seduce the forces of General Lecor to the plains, they decided on a land blockade of the city of Monte Video. Fructuozo Rivera and a number of his Cisplatine partizans were opposed to the step, since its adoption would block up the only channel through which they could dispose of their produce, or receive commodities in return. It was, nevertheless, carried into execution during the month of July, but produced no change whatever in the tactics of the Brazilian General; who contented himself by remarking, that it was a Buenos Ayrean measure, which, by augmenting the jealousy existing between the chiefs of the Republic and those of the Cisplatine province, must of itself bring matters all the sooner to a crisis. In the province of Rio Grande, where the Gauchos had already made several incursions, and where a force of five thousand men had been brought together, this inactivity on the part of the General gave rise to much impatience, and on his arrival on the frontier of this province, in the month of Sep-

tember, several of his officers broke out into open mutiny, and a commotion took place, in which several lives were lost, but which ended in the re-establishment of the General's authority.

The enlistment of troops in Brazil was in the meantime found to be attended with greater difficulties than had been anticipated. The free peasantry of the interior, a mixed race, derived jointly from Indian, European, and African origin, were altogether indifferent as to the success of the war, and were alike, by their habits, prejudices, and disposition, unfitted for the career of arms. Born within the genial and luxurious regions of the tropic, and comparatively unaccustomed to hardship, they were for the most part an indolent, weak, and inoffensive race. In the struggle for independence, many of them had taken up arms; but this was in defence of their homes and families, and not from any particular regard either for the integrity of the empire, or for Don Pedro. On the completion of this great struggle, and on their recognition as an independent people, they had expected that they might at least be permitted to enjoy the advantages of peace; but to their utter astonishment, they found that this boasted triumph had as yet brought little, except increased privation in its train. Notwithstanding their abhorrence of a military life, they were

seized like malefactors, and after being bound and crammed into the holds of filthy ships, were sent off to the bleak and dreary plains of the south, there to contend with the rigours of an inhospitable clime, and the tactics of a pitiless enemy. Numbers sickened and died on the passage. During the session of 1826, the victims who had thus perished, either in the vessels or in the hospitals on arrival, were stated by one of the deputies to amount to nearly one thousand.

This ill success was one of the motives inducing the Cabinet to decide on the further employment of foreign military. By the terms of the Constitution, it was one of the exclusive privileges of the legislative body to permit, or refuse, the entry of foreign troops within the limits of the empire; yet, whilst the letter of the law was in appearance observed, its spirit was, on the present occasion, unscrupulously infringed upon, by the engagement of Germans as colonists, and by their being drafted into the army on their arrival. For this step, greater facilities existed than even for the enlistment of native troops; and the class who, in the event of a servile war in Brazil, might be regarded as the great bulwark against anarchy, were thus also exempted from the danger of being swept off; yet the measure was not on this account less reprobated by the Patriots, many

of whom were not only actuated by the old prejudice against foreigners, but were moreover suspicious, lest the Government having at its disposition a force unconnected either by kindred, by sympathy, or even by the common tie of language with the inhabitants, might at some future period set the Chambers altogether at defiance. It cannot, however, be said that these opinions had as yet made much progress beyond the precincts of the Metropolis. The public discontent was as yet but in its germ, and by a more judicious policy on the part of the administration, it might easily have been extinguished.

The land blockade of Monte Video was in the meanwhile maintained until the end of October, by which time the Buenos Ayrean Government had become fully sensible of its impolicy. On its first adoption it had occasioned the defection of Fructuozo Rivera. Since the comparative cessation of the maritime trade of Buenos Ayres, the main channel of her commerce lay through Monte Video, and it at length became fully evident to all, that in prohibiting any communication with this latter city, the Buenos Ayreans had in reality been inflicting a far more serious injury on themselves than on the Imperialists. The Indians of the Pampas had also commenced their ravages, and serious dissensions had taken place between the Supreme

Government of Buenos Ayres and the Municipalities of several of the confederated provinces, yet the Republicans unflinchingly maintained their hostile position. They were further induced to do this from their confident expectation of the speedy arrival of two frigates, a corvette, and several smaller vessels, which they had lately purchased from the Chilian Government. Unfortunately, however, for the success of their calculations, the expected vessels encountered a gale off Cape Horn, in which one of the frigates sustained so much damage, that she was compelled to return to Chili, where she was condemned as unseaworthy; and the other, with five hundred men on board, is supposed to have foundered, never after having been heard of. The only vessels which succeeded in making their way to the point of rendezvous in Patagonia, were the corvette Chacabuco, and a small schooner. Had the entire squadron succeeded in reaching Buenos Ayres, the naval operations of the Republic would probably have assumed a far more serious aspect. While the Brazilian vessels of war were indifferently manned, and their crews dispirited by their inability to obtain any decided advantages, the British seamen in the service of Buenos Ayres, and in the privateers, were animated by the warmest enthusiasm. Flushed with their constant success, and proud

of having with such ineffectual means so long kept at bay the colossal forces of the Emperor Don Pedro, their self-love became interested in the strife in which they were engaged. The present salvation of the Republic they regarded as in a great measure the work of their own hands, and they swore to each other in perfect sincerity, that, whilst they were in existence, the cause of the United Provinces should never succumb.

Such was the unfavourable state of affairs which induced Don Pedro to undertake a voyage to the seat of war, in the hope that he might alike stimulate the troops with his presence, and also ascertain from personal inspection the real state of the Southern provinces. A Proclamation to this effect was accordingly issued on the 12th of November, and on the 24th, His Majesty sailed from Rio in the line-of-battle ship Don Pedro Primeiro, attended by a frigate, a corvette, a schooner of war, and a number of transports. During the voyage he had the annoyance to witness the escape of the Chacabuco, the Buenos Ayrean corvette, from under the guns of the entire squadron. This vessel had been cruising along the coast, in company with the Sarandi schooner, on board of which was Admiral Brown, and they had already captured a number of merchant vessels, which were successively sent down to the Sa-

lado, a small river on the opposite bank to Monte Video, the entrance of which is fortified. Off St. Catherine the two vessels accidentally separated, and on the clearing up of a fog the Chacabuco found herself in the midst of a hostile squadron. All the vessels immediately closed upon her, but after exchanging a few broadsides, her Commander, by his superior manœuvring, succeeded in extricating her without material damage, from her apparently perilous position.

During the absence of the Emperor, the Empress sickened and died. From the garbled accounts which were at this time published regarding this distressing event, but little accurate information can be gleaned; but unfortunately for the credit of Don Pedro, the truth is at present only too notorious. Before his departure he had an interview with Her Majesty, on which occasion some altercation ensued. Their union had long been unhappy. All the influence which ought naturally to have appertained to the Empress had passed into the hands of the Marchioness de Santos; and to such an extent had the infatuation of Don Pedro for this lady, attained, that in an official edict he had recently avowed an infant, to which she gave birth in 1825, as his daughter, by the title of Duchess de Goyaz. His demeanour towards the Empress was at the same time unfeeling, and on the present occasion he is even

accused of having had the brutality to strike her. In this there may possibly be some exaggeration, but what is certain is, that the unfortunate Empress, who was at this period far advanced in her pregnancy, was forthwith conveyed from the scene of their interview to a sick-bed, whence she never rose again, excepting to perform a short and painful pilgrimage to the Gloria Church, where vows were in vain offered up for her recovery. After an illness of the most excruciating nature, the earthly sufferings of Her Majesty terminated on the 11th of December, 1826.

It is painful even to the stranger to know, that her last moments were embittered by an insult, which might well have been spared. During the agonies of the fever prior to her decease, the Marchioness de Santos had the heartless effrontery to present herself for admittance to the sick-room. The demand naturally created some confusion in the antechamber, of which Her Majesty inquired the cause. She had hitherto borne the ill-treatment of Don Pedro with the most exemplary submission, but this last insult instantaneously called up in her bosom the proud spirit of the House of Austria, and she refused, in decisive and explicit terms, to receive the projected visit. Incensed beyond measure at the refusal, the Marchioness attempted to force her

way into the chamber of the Royal Invalid, and would have succeeded, had it not been for the personal interposition of the Marquis de Paranogõa, the Minister of Marine, who planted himself on the threshold, and told her, "Tenha paciencia Senhora Marqueza Vossamerce naõ pode entrar."—"Have patience, my Lady Marchioness, you cannot enter." Her Ladyship, in consequence, retired with many threats of vengeance on the entire Cabinet, some of which were shortly after carried into execution. Before the death of the Empress had taken place, the letters of the Marchioness, complaining bitterly of the treatment which she had met with in the Palace, were already far advanced on their way to Don Pedro.

During the entire illness of Her Majesty, all the minor symptoms of her malady were detailed in the public journals with disgusting circumstantiality; in order, it is said, to prevent any suspicions of poison. When, at length, the vital spark became extinct, preparations were made, in conformity with the established rules of Court etiquette, for a solemn "beijamaõ," or kissing of hands, to take place on the following day. Like true courtiers, the adherents to the fortunes of Don Pedro had, before this, abstracted themselves as much as possible from the presence of the Empress, and with the exception of a few faithful attendants,

who had followed her from Germany, and who were bound to her by other ties than those of interest, none were found willing to cheer her hours of solitude. No sooner, however, had she become insensible to their attentions, than all again crowded around her. They who had treated her with coldness and insult while living, now bent down in lowly adulation to her ashes; and for weeks after, the columns of the Diario Fluminense were filled with little beside elegies, monodies, and fulsome and exaggerated relations of the pomp and ceremonies instituted on the melancholy occasion. After having lain in state three days, her remains were finally interred in the Convent of Nossa Senhora de Ajuda, and the earth closed over a daughter of the Cæsars, and a sister to the bride of Napoleon. Amiable in her disposition, but devoid of personal attractions, she never had the happiness to secure the affections of Don Pedro, who had another attachment at the period of her arrival from the object of which he was violently separated by Don John; and to this circumstance may, perhaps, be traced some of the instances of neglect, and even of cruelty, with which he treated his unfortunate wife. Had her influence over him been greater, it might have been well both for himself and for Brazil; for not only were her views often masculine, but that her popularity was also considerable, was

shortly afterwards evinced by the payment of her debts, amounting to eighty contos, from the national purse, by an act of the Legislative Assembly.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Return of His Imperial Majesty to Rio—Dismissal of the Ministry—Affairs of Buenos Ayres—Marquis de Barbacena—Battle of Ituzaingo—Browne's blockade of the Brazilian force in the Uruguay, and his success—Brazilian expedition to Colonia—Its failure—Brown's discomfiture on the 9th of April, 1827—Overtures for peace—Garcia's Treaty—Refusal of the Buenos Ayrean Government to ratify it—State of public feeling in Buenos Ayres—Infractions of the blockade—Opening of the Legislative Chambers—His Majesty's speech—Treaty regarding the Slave Trade—Augmentation of the stipend allotted to the Emperor—Colonel Cotter sent to Ireland to engage colonists—Attempt of dictation to the Deputies on the part of the Senate—Don Pedro's scheme for supplying funds to meet the expenses of the war—Closing of the Session of the Chambers—Change of Ministry—Obvious incapacity of the late Cabinet.

The voyage of Don Pedro to the south was not productive of those happy effects which had been anticipated. He was still in the capital of Rio Grande, when the letters of the Marchioness de Santos complaining of the treatment which she had met with at the hands of the Ministry, were put into his possession. Such was his mortification on becoming acquainted with their contents, that he instantly determined

to return to Rio. His projected visit to the seat of the war, the animation to be excited throughout the ranks of his army by his presence, and the corresponding terror so confidently looked for throughout those of the enemy, were all at once forgotten. After appeasing the differences existing among his principal officers, and appointing the Marquis de Barbacena to the chief command, preparations were made for his return, and before he received intelligence of the death of the Empress, he was already on the point of sailing for Rio. He again arrived there on the 15th of January, 1827, and, in conformity with Court etiquette, the Ministry went on board in a body to compliment His Majesty on his safe arrival. Their reception was, however, marked by such studied indignity, that, with the exception of the Minister of War, they all immediately sent in their resignations.

By the patriot party, whose ranks had of late received great reinforcements, their dismissal was hailed with congratulation. "They had ever," it was urged, "treated the Representatives of the people with undisguised disdain; they had refused the information asked for at their hands; and, looking to their conduct, it might be said that they had deemed themselves qualified to frame and interpret laws without any assistance whatever from the Le-

gislature. The pecuniary wants to which their extravagance gave rise, and the unforeseen occurrences of the war which they expected to have concluded in four or six months at the utmost, had obliged their Excellencies to descend a little from their high position, and to seek communication with the House of Deputies, yet they neither brought forward any projects of law, nor condescended to favour the Assembly with any exposition of their political or economical views. On the contrary, they appeared to consider themselves vilified, if by chance they went before the Commissioners of the nation to discuss its interests, and to subject themselves to the decisions of the majority." On the other hand, Don Pedro himself appeared to have heretofore regarded their administration with tolerable complacency, having conferred on each individual of their number the title of Marquis. They had all formed part of the Council of State convoked shortly after the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, and their successors on the present occasion, were not only selected from the same body, but they were also individuals appertaining to the same rank of titular aristocracy, and imbued with similar ideas, feelings, and principles. They were, the Marquis de Maçaio, as Minister of Marine: the Marquis de Queluz, as Minister for Foreign Affairs and Finance; the Marquis

de Nazareth, as Minister of Justice; and the Viscount de San Leopoldo, as Minister of the Empire.

The intelligence of the arrival of His Imperial Majesty on the frontier had, in the meantime, excited the liveliest sensation in Buenos Ayres. The President of the Argentine Republic addressed a Proclamation to the inhabitants, engaging them to join the army, which was immediately augmented by considerable reinforcements; and, amongst others, by a battalion of German Lancers. The entire force, comprising upwards of seven thousand cavalry, and a corps of artillery, was placed under the command of Don Carlos Alvear; who threatened the positions of the Imperial army in Rio Grande. The Brazilians were, nevertheless, superior in numbers. They had at the present period no fewer than twelve thousand men on the frontier; five thousand in Monte Video, one thousand in Colonia, one thousand on the island of Gorriti, and about five hundred on the island of Lobos.

On a few occasions the successful career of the Buenos Ayreans appears to have lulled them into a false security, and by means of night marches, straggling parties were surrounded and made prisoners in their quarters; but these incidents had but little effect on the fate of the campaign. The ignorance and mismanagement

of the Marquis de Barbacena proved even more fatal to the Imperial cause, than the procrastinating policy of General Lecor. The Marquis, who under the name of Filisberto Brant, had already rendered himself conspicuous during the negotiations with Portugal, was a sagacious and talented courtier; possessed of considerable tact, agreeable in conversation, and polished in his manners, but without any military experience whatever, and of great self-conceit. In a proclamation which he issued soon after his accession to the supreme command, he promised his troops and the public, that within a few days the Brazilian banner should be planted in Buenos Ayres; and after a subsequent series of marches and counter-marches, of which the object has not yet transpired, he finally engaged the enemy on the 20th of February, 1827, in the plain of Ituzaingo. Scarcely, however, had the engagement commenced when Alvear withdrew his troops, and by a feigned retreat succeeded in drawing the entire force of Barbacena into a position where they were in turn attacked at great disadvantage; and after an engagement of six hours' duration, utterly routed, leaving twelve hundred men dead on the field, and ten pieces of artillery. The loss of the enemy was also severe, but considerably less than the Brazilians. Fortunately, their horses were exhausted by forced marches over an immense

tract of sandy plains, or the loss of the Brazilians would probably have been much greater. What contributed to render this disaster more mortifying, and the war still more unpopular, was that the Marquis of Barbacena had in the onset been so confident of victory, that he refused to wait for an expected re-inforcement of nearly two thousand men, under the command of Bento Manoel; and on his defeat afterwards, he threw all the blame on his troops in order to exonerate himself.

On the very same day on which the news of this engagement arrived in Buenos Ayres, intelligence was also received of the joint capture and destruction of an entire division of the Brazilian fleet. On the return of Admiral Brown from his cruise in the Sarandi, he found that the third division of the blockading squadron consisting of nineteen small vessels were up the Uruguay, whither they had proceeded for the purpose of communicating with the army. Brown hereon resolved on an instant pursuit, and on the day after his arrival followed on in their track with all the smaller vessels of his squadron, which, however, were altogether only five schooners and eight gun-boats. After reconnoitring the position of the Brazilian force, and ascertaining that they could not at the moment be engaged, excepting to great disadvantage, he again fell down the river, and

took possession of the island of Martin Garcia commanding its entrance. This island, or rather islet, which is situated right in the mouth of the Uruguay, at the point where this river falls into the Plata, had at the commencement of the war been fortified, and subsequently abandoned by Admiral Lobo. Brown again took possession of it, and planting batteries in such a position as to prevent all junction of the Imperial force in the river Plata with that already in the Uruguay, he proceeded to resume the offensive. By this hardy manœuvre the situation of the contending parties was rendered truly singular, and perhaps altogether unprecedented. While the Brazilians were blockading Buenos Ayres, the Buenos Ayreans were a little higher up blockading a Brazilian force in the Uruguay. The second attempt of Brown took place immediately afterwards, and was attended with perfect success. On the 10th of February he succeeded in bringing his opponents into action, took eleven of their finest vessels, and burned five of the remainder. Out of all the nineteen only three escaped him.

Throughout all the war the indefatigable activity of Brown afforded a forcible contrast to the apparent apathy of the Brazilian Admiral Rodrigo Pinto Guedes, who, confining himself to the splendid cabin of his line-of-battle ship, was seldom or ever seen by the seamen under his orders.

Possessed of considerable reputation for ability acquired during the time of the absolute government, when everything was decided by intrigue alone, Guedes was better qualified to concoct plans in the Cabinet, than to carry them into execution. Cold, calculating, and selfish, he testified much more eagerness in the seizure of prizes, from the capture of which he succeeded in amassing a considerable fortune, than in harassing and discomfiting his enemies.

To add to the misfortunes of the Brazilians, an expedition which they had despatched to Patagonia fell almost entirely into the hands of the enemy. The Buenos Ayrean privateers had hitherto found a safe and convenient refuge for themselves and their prizes in the Rio Negro, on this coast, and a Brazilian expedition of two corvettes and two schooners, was despatched to take the place. On the 28th of February, they entered the river leading to their destination, but one of the corvettes grounded and was lost. The navigation for the other vessels also became so difficult that they were left at anchor, whilst their crews proceeded against the town, situated on the bank, by land. The attack was conducted by Captain Shepherd, who was unfortunately killed by the first discharge of musketry from the garrison. This untoward circumstance led to some confusion, and subse-

quently to a retreat; during which the Imperial force discovered, to their dismay, that the privateers and other Argentine craft in port had already fallen upon the almost defenceless vessels of the expedition, and had succeeded in overpowering the few hands left for their protection. Thus cut off from all succour, the party on shore were compelled to lay down their arms. Out of six hundred and fifty prisoners taken on this occasion, two hundred and fifty were Englishmen and Americans, who forthwith attached themselves to the Republican cause: the vessels falling into the hands of the Buenos Ayreans, were the corvette Itaparica of twenty guns, and the two schooners, Escudero and Constancia.

Brown was, however, from the smallness of his craft in the river Plata, unable to make any impression on the heavy vessels of his opponents; and the latter being, from their draught of water, unable to follow the enemy over the shoals, no decisive blow was struck by either party until the 9th of April. On this day Brown made an attempt to stand out to sea, but was intercepted by Commodore Norton, and an action ensued; during which two of the largest Buenos Ayrean brigs got aground, and lay exposed to the united attacks of a Brazilian squadron of eighteen sail. Brown, though wounded, nevertheless defended himself until

his ammunition was expended, and subsequently succeeded in setting fire to one of the brigs. The remaining one, which was reduced to a perfect wreck, surrendered to the frigate. This was an unfortunate blow for the Buenos Ayreans; and in conjunction with the strife between the Unitarians and the Federalists, into which two parties the inhabitants of the United Provinces were divided, appears to have decided the Government of the Republic to enter into stipulations for peace. Notwithstanding the previous success of their arms, the difficulties of their situation had been continually on the increase. Their troops were almost naked, civil war had broken out in the provinces, the paper money of the National Bank had sunk to one-third of its original value, and although they had at length abandoned the land blockade of Monte Video, the authorities of that city had hitherto precluded the renewal of commercial intercourse.

Under these circumstances, the President deemed it expedient to enter into negotiations with Don Pedro; and Don Manuel José Garçia, a Minister who had been all along opposed to the war, was despatched to Rio de Janeiro for the furtherance of this object. In case the Government of Brazil should manifest a willingness to treat with him, he was authorized to adjust and conclude any preliminary Convention, or Treaty, which should have for its basis

either the devolution of the Oriental province to Buenos Ayres, or its erection into a separate State, free and independent, under the forms and rules which its own inhabitants should choose and sanction. In the latter case, no compensation was to be accorded to either of the belligerent parties. Such, however, was this Plenipotentiary's desire for a pacific arrangement, that he exceeded these instructions so far as to enter into a convention, whereby the province in question was ceded to Brazil, and a compensation agreed to for all Brazilian property hitherto taken by privateers.

This document the Government of Buenos Ayres refused to ratify. The members of the Administration were here the leaders of an ultra-patriot party. In the present critical circumstances of the State, perhaps none but an ultra-patriot party could have directed alike the people and the army with sufficient energy. Moderate men would have been overborne by the torrent of popular opinion. The common people were intoxicated with the frequent triumphs of the army and navy, and the commercial class were by this time equally fanatical. The long continuance of the war had directed their spirit of enterprise into a new and profitable channel. The capital which could no longer be employed in their business, had been invested in the outfit of privateers; and the success of these vessels

had in some measure made amends for the suspension of the regular trade. By many of the owners of this species of property peace was regarded only as the forerunner of ruin.

There was also a further cause contributing to augment the public fatuity. The fluctuation in the value of commodities, arising in part from the continuous fall in the value of the paper-currency, and in part from the uncertainty of arrivals from foreign ports, led on to speculations hitherto unprecedented. Fortunes were suddenly amassed by individuals heretofore unconnected with business; purchases were made by adventurers who were obliged to again enter the market as sellers before they could fulfil their original engagements regarding payments; and the bustle and animation resulting from these transactions were such as had never before been witnessed. By many this unnatural and feverish excitement was mistaken for real prosperity. The public mind was too much inflamed to admit of reflection, and no sooner were the terms of Garçia's Treaty made known, than a tumult took place. In the words of the "Gazeta do Brazil," a ministerial journal lately established in Rio, "The house of the President was attacked and stoned for two hours by the sovereign people; Garçia was compelled to fly, and an attempt was made to assassinate his unfortunate Secretary in the

Café de la Victoria." War! war! war! was the cry in every mouth; and the women came forward to offer their jewels and their trinkets in support of the exigencies of the State. Whatever might have been the wishes of the Government, they could not, in the present excited state of public feeling, have resisted the popular impulse.

In Rio de Janeiro, meanwhile, the desire for peace amongst all except the Corcunda, or Royalist party, was equally extreme. The ravages of the Buenos Ayrean privateers had become so formidable, that the premium of marine insurance from Rio to Bahia under convoy, could not be effected at less than ten per cent. Without convoy, thirty per cent. was often refused. At the same time, the city of Buenos Ayres was known to receive succours direct from Brazil. Fast-sailing vessels, fitted out and loaded principally at Rio de Janeiro, and cleared for the coast of Chili, were continually eluding the vigilance of the blockading squadron. The destination of these was so notorious, that a public journal in Rio, from malicious motives, actually advertised a vessel for "Valparaiso, *via* Buenos Ayres," giving as a reference the residence of an Englishman well known to be engaged in this illicit commerce.

Such was the general disposition, when, on the 3rd of May, 1827, His Majesty again

opened the Session of the Legislative Assembly. He commenced his address by announcing the death of the Empress, and his regret on the melancholy occasion. He afterwards alluded to the war; the continuance of which he declared necessary, until the Cisplatine province should be cleared from her invaders, and her incorporation with the Empire of Brazil acknowledged by Buenos Ayres. Referring to the affairs of the interior, His Majesty requested the attention of the Representatives to the affairs of finance. "The judicial power," observed the Emperor, "is also an important department, which ought to give essential aid to the new system of finance, which I hope to see established. We have neither a Code nor forms of procedure in accordance with the spirit of the age. The laws are contradictory; the judges embarrassed; criminals are suffered to escape punishment; the salaries of the Magistracy are insufficient to guarantee them against the temptations of a vile and sordid interest. Without a good system of finance and legislation no nation can exist. On this account, I particularly call the attention of the Assembly to these two objects, which ought to claim a precedence above all others. During the embarrassments of war all cannot be regularly organized; but the Government has need to be authorized to put a stop to peculation, and to punish all such

as neglect their duty, and who strive to overthrow the established order of things. No one can be more disposed than myself to keep within the limits of the law; but when those who endeavour to elude it find no check, the Government ought to be provided with necessary powers, until the general system can be completely organized." As to exterior relations with the continent of Europe, His Majesty affirmed the continuance of amity, and stated that the betrothment of the Queen of Portugal had already been celebrated in Vienna, and that Don Miguel might shortly be expected in Brazil. Finally, he designated as enemies to the throne, to the country, and to religion, all entertaining opinions in opposition to those enunciated; and stated his conviction of the uniformity of sentiments existing between himself and the members of the Legislature.

The disposition of the House of Deputies was still as timid and vacillating as during the preceding Session, yet the unfortunate results of the war, the obvious imbecility of the Administration, and the consciousness of the moral power devolving upon them as a natural consequence of increasing intelligence, had given the members of the opposition a confidence in themselves in which they had hitherto been found wanting. One of the first objects submitted to their attention was a treaty already entered into,

between the British Government and that of Brazil, for the suppression of the Slave-trade. This document, which was drawn up under the auspices of Mr. Canning, limited the duration of the traffic to three years from the last ratification of the present treaty; after which its continuance became punishable as piracy.

The Government of Brazil had been long pledged to the final adoption of this step, and as His Britannic Majesty threatened to employ force, unless the former engagements on this head were carried into effect, the Emperor had already affixed his signature to the convention on the 23rd of November, 1826, during the recess of the Chambers. This unauthorized ratification of a treaty involving so many important consequences, without previously submitting it to the General Assembly, was exceedingly irregular; yet from the prevailing spirit of the debates on the topic, it appears probable that the chief articles agreed upon, would, under any circumstances, have met with approbation. As was stated by various members in the House of Deputies, notwithstanding the vigour with which the African trade had been carried on for many years, the amount of the slave population had remained almost stationary. From a wish to avoid the risk and trouble of rearing children, the planters had been in the habit of employing male slaves

only. To such a pitch had this system been carried, that on many estates scarcely a single female could be found; and in the majority of the plantations they seldom exceeded the proportion of one female to four males. Thus, unhappily for America, as well as for Africa, did this inhuman traffic appear to entail on Brazil an ever increasing necessity for its continuance. After a lengthened discussion a Committee was finally appointed for the purpose of reviewing and examining the conditions of the Treaty, and though its members, in their report, appear to have considered the infliction of the penalties awarded to piracy on all engaged in the contraband traffic as opposed to the dictates of the Constitution, the majority were yet induced to acquiesce in the justice of the main principles on which the Convention had been founded.

To the revision of this important Treaty succeeded the adoption of a decree for the institution of Universities in the cities of San Paulo and Olinda: a law for the creation of Justices of peace; another for the augmentation of the income of His Imperial Majesty, from two hundred to one thousand contos of reis per annum; and, finally, a Decree for the funding of the public debt. The utility of the first-mentioned measure is too obvious to require any comment whatever. Regarding the second, which was a law organized and brought forward

by the opposition, it may be remarked that its prospective advantages were that, instead of these Justices of peace being nominated, like the "Juizes de fora," by the government, for an unlimited time, they were to be appointed directly by popular election, for four years only; and their services were to be gratuitous. Their attributes were restrained within a more limited circle than those of the "Juiz de fora;" and from the mode and circumstance of their election, an increased responsibility towards the public was secured.

Concerning the augmentation of the sum allotted to the Emperor, it may be necessary to state that on his first elevation to the Regency it had been fixed at one hundred and forty-four contos of reis per annum; or 31,350*l.* sterling. During the recess between the dissolution of the Constituent and the convocation of the Legislative body, he had by a decree raised the amount to two hundred contos, or 46,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* sterling; and in 1826 it had again been decided by the House of Deputies, that it should be raised to four hundred contos. This project had not, however, as yet been sanctioned by the Senate; and as His Majesty's expenses had for several years averaged nearly seven hundred contos, it was now proposed, in the form of an amendment, that the amount should be raised to one thousand contos, or 148,437*l.* 10*s.* sterling. It must be

acknowledged that the moment for this increase was ill chosen. The public debt had since the last session been considerably augmented; the deficiency for the current year could not be estimated at less than five thousand contos; and the country was involved in a ruinous war; yet, though a few of the Deputies had the hardihood to oppose the measure, the greater number were still too fearful of coming into collision with the Imperial authority, to resist its adoption. During the discussions it was clearly evinced that the stipend at present conceded to His Majesty was larger in proportion to the revenue than that of any constitutional monarch in Europe; yet the amendment was in the end carried through the House of Deputies by a large majority.

Whilst, however, thus complaisant towards the personal exigencies of the Emperor, the Deputies were resolved not to sacrifice their popularity altogether, to the extravagance of the Administration. It had been the expectation of the Cabinet that further imposts would have been levied, and the revenue thus augmented; but to this the Deputies were inflexibly opposed. In the hope of conciliating the opinion of their constituents, they were more disposed to lessen than to add to the public burthens, and actually proceeded to abolish an oppressive tax, hitherto levied on all gold mines. The actual revenue

they regarded as amply sufficient for times of peace; and they on this account proceeded to organize the law for the funding of the public debt, deeming, as they did, the system of credit to be the most expedient for the time being.

Intelligence of the refusal of the Buenos Ayrean Government to ratify Garçia's Treaty of peace in the meantime arrived in Rio, and Colonel Cotter, an Irish Officer in the service of the Empire, was in consequence despatched by the Government to Ireland, for the purpose of engaging colonists on the same principles as those on which the Germans, who had been drafted into the army, had already been engaged. The House of Deputies were also requested to concede such assistance as might enable the Administration to carry on the campaign with increased vigour. In the despatch of the Minister it was stated that "His Imperial Majesty, having done every thing within the scope of his attributes, and even endangered his precious life for the good and salvation of the country, had the indubitable right to look for efficient co-operation on the part of the Chambers."

To this communication the President replied, that the matter should meet with their most serious attention; and a Commission was appointed for the purpose of taking it into consideration. The result was a decision on the

part of the House, that a force of thirty thousand men, the number at present authorized, was amply sufficient for present exigencies. To this the Senate had the hardihood to propose as an amendment, that the number should be augmented by three thousand additional troops; a step in itself decidedly unconstitutional: since by the terms of the charter all proposals for taxes and enlistments, were required to originate with the House of Deputies. This attempt at dictation did not fail to awaken the indignation of the patriots in the other House. "Let us not," exclaimed Vasconcellos, a Member for the province of Minas Geraes, "let us not admit the slightest infraction of the Constitution. This article is even more important than that relating to taxes; for enlistment is also a tax; and, let us ask, of what nature? It is a tax imposed on the liberty, the blood, and the lives of our fellow-citizens. Let not then the Senate violate this article of our Constitution."

In a further amendment, the Senate also proposed that this additional reinforcement should be recruited principally from among foreigners, an intimation which proved even more galling to the Deputies than the preceding. The amendments were in both cases rejected; and as the Deputies were equally indisposed to the imposition of further taxes, His Majesty, as a

last resort, resolved upon devoting towards the expenses of the war, the amount of one month's stipend, with a promise that as long as the struggle should continue he would also continue to apply towards the exigencies of the state, one-half of the said stipend, as *a loan*, for which he would not require the payment of interest. This patriotic example his subjects were called upon to imitate; but with the exception of a few confirmed royalists and the Marchioness de Santos, the appeal appears to have been attended with but little effect.

An additional number of German colonists were about the same time drafted into the army, and several native battalions transported from the northern provinces to Rio Grande. His Majesty, however, deemed it expedient to hold out hopes of peace to the Chambers, and in closing the Session, which was, on account of the press of affairs, protracted until the 16th of November, he recommended the Deputies to remain in the metropolis, in order that they might be in readiness to deliberate at any time, on the terms of a peace which must shortly be looked for.

An entire change of the Ministry took place only four days afterwards. Some changes had previously been made in the Cabinet during the current year, yet that administrative superiority necessary for the command of a majority in the

House of Deputies had not as yet been attained by its members. The circle of the Counsellors of State, sarcastically termed by the patriots "the vicious circle," from which the administrations of the last three years had been taken almost in toto, had certainly been any thing but prolific in talent. With the exception only of the Count de Valença, the Viscount de San Leopoldo, and the Marquis de San Joaõ de Palma, who had all three been recently admitted, the members of this body were the same individuals who had formerly organized the Constitution; yet, monstrous as it may appear, their subsequent Administration seemed to have been little else than one continual series of awkward and ineffectual attempts for its subversion. Certainly the members of the late Cabinet were somewhat less obnoxious on this account than their predecessors, yet they had even managed to surpass them in incapacity.

A short time previous to the close of the Session one of their Excllenci s actually proposed that a salary should be allotted to the Counsellors of State, and attempted to put his proposition to the vote, notwithstanding its opposition to the fundamental law of the Empire. Another assured the opposition that, were he disposed, he could easily quash all their arguments; a third kept silence on all points, until called upon to state the reason why he had al-

lotted to himself the salaries attached to two different offices; a fourth avowed himself a partizan of the theories of Bentham, yet, having a defect in his articulation he was never able to develope them to the entire satisfaction of the Deputies; and another, after having for some time favoured the House with an exposition of his own luminous perceptions on the subject of ship-building, concluded in the following words: "I cannot give a reason for my assertion, but the House may rely upon me that it is true."

"Oh, stupidity! oh, impudence!" exclaimed the "*Astro de Minas*," a lately established paper of bolder principles than any which had hitherto appeared since the time of Chapuis, "what an opinion must foreigners form of Brazil, in case they estimate her by her Ministry!"

CHAPTER XIX.

Re-appointment of General Lecor to the command of the Army—Marquis de Barbacena despatched to Europe—State of Affairs in Portugal—Revolt in favour of Don Miguel—Interference of Great Britain — Conduct of Don Pedro relative to the Affairs of Portugal—Appointment of Don Miguel as Lieutenant-General, and Regent of Portugal—Don Miguel's Oath to the Constitution—Machinations of the Absolutists—Death of Mr. Canning, and its effect on the Affairs of Portugal—Dissolution of the House of Deputies there—Convocation of the Ancient States of the Kingdom in June, 1828—Protest of the Marquis de Itabayana—Assembly of the Three Estates, and their decision—Donna Maria sent to Europe — Negotiations of the Marquis de Barbacena — Fulsome style of the Official Journals in Rio.

From the period of the battle of Ituzaingo until the close of the year 1827, the Imperial army on the frontier contented themselves by acting on the defensive. Only one skirmish of importance took place in Camacua, in the month of April; and this, like all those which had preceded it, terminated in favour of the republicans. These repeated defeats led to the recall of the Marquis de Barbacena, and to the re-appointment of General Lecor to the command of the army. Barbacena, whose insinuating manners have before been alluded to, had, never-

theless, succeeded in inspiring His Majesty with a high opinion of his talents; and, as the late events in the South proved beyond a doubt that they lay not in the military line, it appears to have been concluded that diplomacy was his forte. Certainly, the patriot party were of a different opinion. The diplomatic talents of the Marquis had already been put to the proof, during the negotiations with Portugal; and, whatever might have been the advantages resulting to the plenipotentiary, the high terms on which the acknowledgment of the independence had been purchased from Don John VI., they regarded as any thing but satisfactory. His Excellency was, however, despatched to Europe, for the joint purpose of effecting a further loan, of contracting a second marriage for Don Pedro in some of the reigning families in that continent, and lastly, of conducting the negotiations still pending with Portugal.

The Constitution framed by Don Pedro had met with acceptance in this kingdom, and on the occasion of the first assembly of the Legislative body, both houses were profuse in their acknowledgments of gratitude. Reflecting men saw, however, even at this time, that the feeling in its behalf was any thing but national.

"The *Letra* (bill of exchange) has been presented and accepted," wrote Silvestre Pin-

heiro, the talented ex-minister of Don John, to a friend in Brazil; "yet it appears doubtful whether it will ever be paid; for the drawer has neither any funds here, nor is his credit by any means good in this market." Such, in fact, was Pinheiro's conviction regarding the future course of events in Portugal, that, although elected a member of the House of Deputies, he never thought proper to take his seat. Like many others, he had observed that, excepting among the middle class of citizens, who were but a diminutive number, the charter had few sincere adherents. The Magistracy were, for the most part, individuals of retrograde ideas; the bulk of the nobility and clergy regarded the appointment of a separate and independent Chamber of Deputies as an infringement on their established privileges, and the populace were, from the unsatisfactory administration of the late Cortes, indisposed to any constitutional government whatever.

Under the irritation resulting from the independence of Brazil; the quarter whence the Constitution had emanated was in itself a sufficient cause to preclude its popularity. Nor were these symptoms of dissatisfaction long in coming to a crisis. Scarcely had the sessions of the Legislature been opened, when a Royalist party, headed by the Marquis de Chaves, took up arms in the province of Traz os Montes, with

the intent of proclaiming Don Miguel absolute monarch of the kingdom. At the same time, the Cabinet of Spain gave unequivocal demonstrations of an intention to support and assist the revolters. The British Ministry were, on the other hand, anxious that the Constitution of Don Pedro should be maintained; and Mr. Canning, by his representations, induced the House of Commons to decide upon sending such an armed force to Portugal, as might be sufficient to keep the revolters in check. Five thousand men, under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir William Clinton, were accordingly disembarked there on the 15th of January, 1827, the insurgents fled for refuge into Spain, and the members of the legislature were thus enabled to continue their sittings, free from further molestation. Between the two chambers there was nevertheless but little accordance. The majority of the laws passed through the House of Deputies were thrown out by the Peers; amongst whom the Apostolical party, headed by the Counts de Rio Pardo and de San Miguel, were greatly predominant.

Don Pedro, in the meantime, notwithstanding his conditional abdication of the Crown of Portugal, continued to act as though the administration of that kingdom and of Brazil were still vested in the same hands. The entire equipment of the vessel which brought the in-

telligence of the death of the King of Portugal, was furnished exclusively by the naval arsenal of Brazil, and the line-of-battle ship Don John VI, in which it was intended that Don Miguel should visit Rio de Janeiro for the purpose of conveying thither his young bride, was also magnificently decked out, and provided with the due complement of seamen, at the expense of the Empire. In all the despatches relative to the administration of Portugal, His Majesty also retained the style of a monarch, and continued to affix his signature as Don Pedro IV. Many of these related to objects of importance, yet they were decided without any consultation of the Council of Portugal. Doctor Bernardo Jozé de Abrantes e Castro, was created a Counsellor of State; Marshal Luiz do Rego Barreto, the ex-Governor of Pernambuco, was appointed to the post of Lieutenant-General and Governor-at-arms in the province of Minho; and his brother-in-law, the Baron de Rio Seco, was elevated to the peerage. At the same time the Duke de Lafoens and the other members of the deputation from the Regency of Portugal, who had arrived in Rio in a Portuguese vessel expressly fitted out by the Portuguese Government, were, in consequence of some misunderstanding with His Majesty, condemned to the mortification of returning to Europe at their own expense; the Duke de Lafoens in the English

packet, and the others in Portuguese merchantmen.

Unexpected obstacles, however, opposed themselves about this period to the designs of Don Pedro. Don Miguel was neither willing to visit Rio de Janeiro, nor would the existing ministry of the Infanta, Donna Isabella Maria, consent to acknowledge the validity of the despatches in question. This untoward opposition from both parties, and the fear of a civil war, at length induced the Emperor, by a Decree of the 3d of July, 1827, to appoint Don Miguel his Lieutenant-General and Regent in Portugal. In observance of this diploma, in itself reputed an infraction of the Constitution, His Highness the Infante quitted Vienna for Portugal; and, after visiting Paris and London on his route, arrived in Lisbon on the 22d of February, 1828. Here he made oath to the Constitutional Charter on the 26th of the same month; an act nearly simultaneous with the absolute and unconditional abdication of the Portuguese Crown by Don Pedro in favour of his daughter.

Events were, however, transpiring which seemed to render the permanence of Her most faithful Majesty's reign extremely problematical. No sooner had Don Miguel assumed the Regency in that kingdom, than the opponents of the Charter gave free utterance to their opinions, and began to agitate the feasibility of

constituting His Highness absolute monarch For this they had a precedent before their eyes in the elevation of Don Pedro; who, notwithstanding his oath of allegiance to Portugal, taken on occasion of his accession to the Regency of that country, had yet at an ulterior period been created Emperor by the acclamation of the people. It was moreover urged by the advocates for a similar step, that whenever on previous occasions, as, for example, during the reigns of Don John IV. and Don Pedro II., any articles of the ancient Cortes of Lamego had been altered, the consent of the people, constituted in Cortes, had been obtained for this purpose; and that consequently, before Don Pedro could legally annul these same institutes, he ought to have convoked the representatives of the people in Portugal for this especial purpose.

The explicit assumption of the Sovereignty of the people implied in these arguments, may appear somewhat startling in the mouths of the advocates for absolute monarchy, yet altogether, they were such as were deemed most appropriate to the crisis; they were highly flattering to the populace, and they were everywhere echoed by the Clergy. The principle of the "divine right" was not merely out of date, but in the present instance it could have been employed only with a view to the prejudice of the Church.

Warned by the proceedings of the Cortes of 1820, the Clergy were fully aware that if a constitutional Charter were long maintained, an attack on their privileges, if not on their property, would necessarily ensue; and they were thus almost to a man indisposed to the continuance of the existing system. In their Homilies, the two brothers, Don Miguel and Don Pedro, were held up by the correlative appellations of Jacob and Esau. Journals advocating the cause of absolute government, or as it was on the present occasion termed, "the cause of the people," were conducted under their auspices; and the general prejudice against the Charter confirmed through their efforts.

Such was the state of affairs in Portugal when the death of Mr. Canning, and the accession of the Duke of Wellington, five months afterwards, to the office of Premier, led to an entire change throughout the political relations of Great Britain. Notwithstanding that the insurgents were still in force on the frontiers of Spain, and that the danger of invasion was still manifest, the British troops were recalled during the month of April 1828.

The Infante, in the meantime, went on in the career usually pursued by whatever party may happen to hold possession of the supreme power, bestowing the highest appointments in the army on individuals possessing his personal

confidence, and proceeding to the appointment of a ministry composed on the same principles. To this last measure succeeded a Decree, dated on the 13th of March, for the dissolution of the House of Deputies; a step which had scarcely been carried into execution, when on the 25th of April, 1828, the Municipality of Lisbon presented a petition requesting His Highness to assume the dignity and title of King of Portugal. To this representation His Highness replied in a Decree, dated on the same day, declaring that the requisition would be taken into consideration when presented in legal terms. By legal terms, was implied a decision of the ancient States of the kingdom to this effect; and a further Decree, dated the 3d of May, was issued for their convocation, in order, as the Minister of Justice stated in his circular, "that Portugal might again become Portugal."

This convocation, by which the charter of Don Pedro was virtually annulled, conjointly with the imprisonment of the editors of all Constitutional journals, led to the flight of many of the partizans of Donna Maria to France, England, and Brazil. Others of a more determined character sought refuge in the city of Oporto; where the inhabitants, being principally of the middle class, and engaged in commerce, were advocates for the charter. The troops quartered in this city also espoused the cause

of the inhabitants, and a provisional government was appointed, principally composed of such as had already figured in the revolution of 1820, or who had since made sacrifices in behalf of the Constitutional cause. Unfortunately the number of members was greater than necessary; their conflicting opinions were continually tending to negative each other, and all their subsequent acts were consequently wanting in that vigour and energy which can only be obtained under the administration of a few.

The Visconde de Itabayana the Brazilian Minister in London, in conjunction with the Marquis de Rezende the Minister to the Court of Austria, entered into a joint protest against the late proceedings of the Infante, but to no purpose. The Government in Lisbon having at its head a prince already reputed as the monarch, neither suffered this protest nor the revolt in Oporto to interfere with its measures. The Session of the Three Estates was opened by the Infante on the 23d of June 1828, and the Bishop of Viseu addressed the members on the occasion, regarding the right of Don Miguel to the Portuguese crown, to the exclusion of Don Pedro and his daughter Donna Maria. The Desembargador Jozé Acursio das Neves afterwards rose, and dilated at considerable length on the evils which Don Pedro had already

caused to the Portuguese nation, by the concession of independence to the Empire of Brazil; he recalled the examples wherein various monarchs of Portugal had on previous occasions been excluded from the throne; and concluded by assuming, that the nation only, as a supreme judge, could decide between the pretensions of the Emperor of Brazil and his daughter, and those of Don Miguel; and that, on this account, the three estates were assembled. This discourse, as well as that of the bishop, was listened to with apparent approbation, and the Infante subsequently ordered that each Estate should again assemble separately on the 25th, in the various edifices of San Roque, Santo Antonio, and the Convent of San Francisco. As was doubtless anticipated, they decided that Don Miguel was the legitimate King, and that all that had been done by Don Pedro was null and void from its illegality. For the adoption of this decision they gave the following grounds:—

First, Don Pedro had become the sovereign of a foreign country; and this circumstance, by constituting him a foreigner, excluded him from the throne of Portugal, conformably to the decree of the Cortes of Lamego, and to the demand made by the three Estates at the period of the Assembly in 1642.

Secondly, The residence of Don Pedro out of

the kingdom is contrary to the ordinance of the Cortes of 1641, of that of Thomar, and of the letters patent of 1642.

Thirdly, Portugal and Brazil having become separate and distinct states since the 15th of November 1825; and Don Pedro having chosen the crown of the latter country, he is unqualified to reign over Portugal, by the terms of the same letters patent of 1642.

Fourthly, This Prince has violated the Portuguese laws in arrogating to himself an exorbitant and discretionary power.

The Assembly, moreover, declared in conclusion, that the oaths pronounced by Don Miguel were invalid, from having been forced and contracted in a foreign country.

Without attempting to estimate the validity of these various arguments, it may be sufficient to state here, that the decision was confirmed by Don Miguel, who caused himself to be proclaimed King of Portugal and Algarve, and who, by a decree of the 15th of July, again dissolved the same Assembly to which his elevation had been owing.

Intelligence of the dissolution of the House of Deputies in the meantime arrived in Rio, where it had the effect of inducing the Emperor to expedite the departure of Donna Maria to Europe, in the hope that if her Majesty could be placed under the protection of her maternal

grandfather, the Emperor of Austria, her union with Don Miguel might even yet be effected. The Marquis de Barbacena, the universal genius who during the year 1827 had alternately figured before the army in the south, the ministry in Rio, and subsequently before the respective courts of London, Munich, Sardinia, and Paris, and who, with all his versatility of talent and his astonishing expedition, had yet returned to Rio without having concluded any one of the objects of his mission, was selected as the guardian to the youthful potentate during her voyage; and at the same time charged to conclude as briefly as possible the negotiations for the second marriage of Don Pedro. In his previous correspondence with the Court of Rio, he had indicated the democratic regimen of Brazil as the chief obstacle to the alliance of the Emperor with any of the reigning families in Europe; yet, far from being discouraged by this difficulty, he represented it as having been in a great measure surmounted through his own peculiar subtlety. Before, however, he brought his negotiations to a close, he had deemed it expedient again to visit Rio de Janeiro, and, in consequence of his presence here at this juncture, he became intrusted with the temporary guardianship of Donna Maria. Her most faithful Majesty finally sailed from Rio on the 5th of July 1828. She was still a child, in

the tenth year of her age, and her departure was regarded with but little interest by the inhabitants of Rio. If, however, any credit can be attached to the asseverations of the "Diario Fluminense," there were at least a few individuals whose excess of sensibility on this occasion was such as to make ample amends for the indifference of the greater number.

"Her Majesty Donna Maria the Second," exclaimed the highly gifted Editor of this periodical, in a paragraph, which may be worthy of insertion, as illustrative of the pompous nonsense with which he still from time to time disfigured his pages,—"Her Majesty Donna Maria the Second left this city on the day before yesterday, for the Court of Vienna, whither she is gone to kiss the hand of her august grandfather. That fortunate Court, which eleven years ago felicitated Brazil with a prototype of virtues which it would be difficult to imitate, and which prototype was quickly coveted by Heaven, will now be well repaid with the sovereign presence of the youthful Queen, the blessed offspring and living image of her mother. The just and pungent anguish in which the privation of this august object steeps our hearts, and which the policy of Empires compels us to support, can alone be alleviated by the thought, that this brilliant star, now ceasing to scintillate in the southern

cross, will henceforth light up the skies of Europe, and re-produce in another hemisphere the high virtues of the great genius, the Founder of the Brazilian Empire. On occasion of her departure we were favoured with the following sonnet, which we publish alike on account of the worthy object to which it is dedicated, and also from a wish to make known the transcendent genius of the writer.

"Alas! high Queen," &c. &c. &c.

CHAPTER XX.

Disputes relative to the prize claims—The North American Ministers' interpretation of the laws of blockade—Unavailing representations—Mr. Raguet demands his passports—The French and English make similar claims to the Americans, and the British Ministry undertake the office of mediators between the Emperor and the Government of Buenos Ayres — State of the Imperial army—Audacity of the privateers—Meeting of the Chambers in 1828—New Ministry — Revolt of the foreign troops, and subsequent massacre—Further changes in the Cabinet—A French squadron enters in line of battle, and their demand is acceded to—Negotiations for peace—Preliminary treaty — Effects of the war in Brazil as well as in Buenos Ayres.

While the events taking place in Portugal thus appeared to betoken the proximity of a rupture between Don Pedro and Don Miguel, the detention and seizure of an immense number of neutral vessels, by the blockading squadron in the river Plata, threatened to become the cause of an equally serious embarrassment to the Emperor. In protesting against the measures carried into execution by the Imperial Government, the United States of North America took the precedence. During the month of September, 1824, an American vessel had been seized,

under the pretext of an infraction of the blockade of Pernambuco, and nearly fifteen months had elapsed before a definitive sentence for her release could be obtained. On the subsequent declaration of war with Buenos Ayres, the Brazilian Minister for foreign affairs informed Mr. Raguet, the Chargé d'Affaires of the United States in Rio de Janeiro, that the Emperor had given orders to equip a squadron for the purpose of placing in a state of blockade all the ports belonging to the United Provinces of the river Plata, and on the following morning it was announced that, by order of the Emperor, the said ports would be immediately blockaded by the force at present stationed there, which would shortly be augmented by an expedition on the point of sailing. To this communication of the Minister, Mr. Raguet made reply on the 13th of December, acknowledging the full right of a belligerent power to injure its enemy by means of siege or blockade, but insisting that no such power could of itself decide regarding the interest of neutrals, who have their rights as well as the belligerent parties. "With regard to the commerce of neutral nations with friendly states," argued Mr. Raguet, "it had been acknowledged as a principle, that these neutrals could not justifiably furnish contraband articles of war to either of the hostile powers, nor even convey provisions or stores to the ports

or places blockaded, or besieged; but it had at the same time been acknowledged, that no port could be considered in a state of blockade, unless it were encompassed by a naval force sufficiently imposing to preclude an entry. Insomuch, that if the squadron, or blockading force were constrained to absent itself by any other cause than stress of weather, the blockade was for the time raised, and its renewal must be regarded as a new blockade, in no manner affecting the interests of the neutrals who might have entered the said port during the interim. This manner of regarding the laws of blockade," continued the negociator, "was sanctioned by the armed neutrality of 1780, and by a convention concluded in 1801, between Great Britain and Russia, in which it was stipulated 'that to determine the state of a blockaded port, this denomination shall only be given to a port where the dispositions taken by the attacking power, by means of vessels either stationary or sufficiently near to each other, demonstrate the evident danger of attempting to penetrate therein.' This definition had been adopted by all the other Cabinets of Europe, and by the United States, the only independent nation in America, at the epoch of the convention." Mr. Raguet also urged, that another principle equally incontestable, was that of warning the vessels which seek to enter a blockaded port, of

the existence of the blockade; in default of which neither seizure nor condemnation could take place." In support of these principles, Mr. Raguet cited a variety of instances in which they had since been adopted by the various maritime nations of Europe.

To these representations, the Viscount de Santo Amaro, at this time Minister, replied somewhat evasively, that, in the orders given to the Brazilian Admiral, all neutral vessels having entered the Argentine ports prior to the declaration of the blockade, were to be allowed fourteen days to complete their lading, and afterwards to be permitted to depart without molestation.

The matter was thus suffered to rest for the moment, but during the months of June, August, and September, 1826, several American vessels were seized as being destined for the blockaded port; and this too, without any warning to retire. On this point the Brazilian Government could certainly quote the conduct of England, during the late war in Europe, as a precedent; yet they do not appear to have reflected that the system had been adopted by England *only*, the most powerful maritime nation in the world; and this too, in opposition to the protests of all others. On the present occasion their conduct led to an immediate protest on the part of the American Chargé d'Affaires, against the seizure of these

vessels, and to a demand for damages and interest on account of the delay occasioned.

The Marquis de Inhambupe, who had succeeded as Minister to the Viscount de Santo Amaro, replied to Mr. Raguet, that the notification, which it was pretended ought to have been made of the existence of the blockade, had already been fulfilled in its previous announcement to all nations, and that a sufficient space of time had elapsed for all to be aware of it. "Neutral vessels," urged the Minister, "could not be permitted to attempt a violation of the blockade under the pretext of being ignorant of its existence, since they could easily inform themselves of the fact at the nearest *neutral* port; and any other line of conduct on their part appeared to announce hostile intentions. Nevertheless, as vessels had been taken out at sea on account of the destination of their passports for the blockade ports, the Emperor had decided that such only should be retained, as had manifested an evident intention to violate the blockade."

Mr. Raguet, on the other hand, insisted on the principle already cited, that no vessel could be seized for an infraction of the laws of blockade, except when trying to enter into port after having been warned off, and that a mere notification to foreign countries was insufficient. In support of this pretension, he urged, that all

the territory from the Amazon to Cape Horn, was in the possession of one or other of the belligerent parties; that the nearest *neutral* ports were Valparaiso, and the Cape of Good Hope; and that a voyage to either of these ports would, in most cases, be tantamount to a return to the port whence the vessel started.

These representations were, however, entirely unavailing. The decision regarding the captured vessels was referred to a prize Court, with which the Government stated it would be contrary to the Constitution of the Empire for them to interfere; and the Brazilian Admiral, unable to make any invidious exceptions exclusively in favour of the Americans, continued to seize as prizes, all vessels bound to Buenos Ayres.

The result was the continuation of altercations between Mr. Raguet and the Brazilian Ministers, which terminated only on the 8th of March, 1827, in a demand on the part of the former for his passports. They were of course granted; but a few days after his departure a Brazilian envoy of the name of Rebello was despatched by the Emperor to the United States, with the object of making an amicable arrangement relative to all existing difficulties. A successor to Mr. Raguet was in consequence appointed by the President, and all further discussion suspended until the month of Novem-

ber following, when the Emperor, wishing to put an end to the abuse committed by foreign vessels in the habit of entering Monte Video, and afterwards sailing ostensibly for distant ports, but in reality for Buenos Ayres, charged the authorities in the former city to prevent any vessels from leaving that anchorage during the continuance of the war, unless they could give guarantees that their destination was not for any of the ports of the Argentine Republic. Owing, however, to the energetic representations of Mr. Tudor, the lately arrived American Minister, regarding the injustice and illegality of this measure, it was subsequently abandoned on the 16th of January, 1828.

On similar grounds to the foregoing, the French Government, following the example of the Americans, instituted a plea for the damages occasioned to their subjects by illegal captures; and England, which had been a greater sufferer from the system pursued than all other nations conjointly, not only brought forward a claim for indemnity, but by her interference attempted to put a period to the continuance of the war. The British Administration had all along been anxious to facilitate an amicable arrangement between the belligerents, and happily for both parties, Don Pedro was at length found willing to listen to terms which he had formerly spurned with indignation. Sickness, desertion, and loss

in battle, had reduced the effective force on the frontier to less than seven thousand men; the enemy were fully equal in numbers, and their force was daily augmented by desertions from the Imperial army. In addition to this, a two years' run of ill success had extinguished almost every vestige of martial spirit; or, as General Lecor thought fit to term it, in an intercepted despatch, "of patriotism." Among the militia an equal indisposition to the service existed. Even in the province of Rio Grande, suffering under the war, the inhabitants dispersed themselves in the woods, and on the plains of the interior, in preference to taking up arms. The owners of the cattle farms were the principal sufferers. Incursions on their estates were of daily occurrence; their slaves were continually escaping into the Banda Oriental, where they at once became invested with the privileges of freemen, and their cattle were swept off by thousands. Braun and Calado, two of the chief officers of Lecor, were of opinion, that he ought to give battle, alleging, that if they were to lose all, it would be better to do so in the field, than by desertion, and the demoralization consequent upon it. The General, however, remained firm to his principles, and a violent discussion ensued, which ended in Braun's arrest, and in a request on the part of Calado for his passport to Monte Video.

In the river Plata the naval force of Don Pedro was equally unfortunate. From the smallness of their remaining vessels, the Buenos Ayreans were no longer able to encounter the Brazilian squadron, yet the ravages of the privateers were more flagrant than ever. The audacity with which many of these marauders carried on their depredations appears truly astonishing. One of them, the Congresso, boarded every vessel entering the harbour of Rio de Janeiro for nearly a week; and finally escaped in the face of two frigates, and a brig-of-war. The Brazilian brig-of-war Caçique was captured off Pernambuco by a privateer, the utmost exertions of her commander, Captain Manson, one of the bravest officers in the service, being unable to keep his crew to their guns: and the Niger, a small privateer of only eight guns, made an attempt to carry the Maria Isabel, a thirty-six gun frigate, by boarding. In the last instance it happened that the Niger was lying off Santos, when the Maria Isabel sailed from that port with a convoy of sugar-laden smacks. The Captain of the Niger kept the convoy in sight; and during the night made sail and ran alongside the frigate, boarded her, and kept possession of her quarter-deck for several minutes. The difficulty of boarding was, however, so great, in consequence of the

relative position of the two ships, that before a sufficient number of men could be thrown on board, the frigate's crew rallied, and the assailants were again driven back into their own vessel, with the loss of several prisoners. The Niger nevertheless succeeded in escaping, and even after this made a capture of part of the convoy.

These unfortunate results, in conjunction with the continual augmentation of the public debt, were becoming a daily-increasing source of discontent, when the legislature again assembled on the appointed day, the 3d of May, 1828. In his Speech on the occasion, the Emperor announced that the Court of Madrid was the only one in Europe which had refrained from acknowledging the Brazilian Empire; that Treaties of Commerce and navigation had been concluded with Great Britain and Prussia; that the Government of the United States had replaced the Chargé d'Affaires who had quitted Rio; that negotiations had been entered into with the Government of Buenos Ayres, and that the act of his own abdication of the Throne of Portugal had been completed. Passing to the affairs of the interior, he congratulated the Assembly on the order and tranquillity existing in all the provinces; a proof, urged the Emperor, that the Monarchico-constitutional system was daily consolidating itself more and more. Finally,

he concluded by again requesting the attention of the Assembly to the affairs of finance and justice.

It had been hoped that the Ministry appointed in the month of November, 1827, would, for the first time since the practical adoption of the representative system, have been able to command a majority in the House of Deputies. Its members were in part selected from the bosom of the legislature, and the reputation for probity enjoyed by Araujo Lima, the Minister of the Empire, in conjunction with the tact and skill universally ascribed to Calmon, the Minister of Finance, excited for a moment the expectation of all parties. This latter, a native of Bahia, had been educated in an English University; was reputed to have enjoyed the personal intimacy of Mr. Canning, and, although cold and artificial in his style of eloquence, was yet one of the most acute debaters in the House. All the favourable hopes which had been inspired were, however, done away with on the convocation of the Chambers. People in general form their opinions from results alone, and the unfortunate issue of the present war had naturally led to a material development of the spirit of opposition in the House of Deputies. At the same time, all the former popularity of Don Pedro was fast waning away. Instead of being any longer regarded as the

tutelar genius of the country, an almost universal prejudice had arisen against him; and the administration of the Cabinet did not tend to re-assure the public confidence.—The want of talent in the majority, the suspected corruption and overbearing deportment of others, and the egotism of all, were alone sufficient to discredit them as a body; and in spite of the means employed to ensure votes, means said to have been modelled on those previously reduced to system in England by Sir Robert Walpole, the Ministry still found themselves in a minority. Their embarrassments on this head were, however, cut short by a casualty, which unexpectedly led to their dismissal. This was nothing less than a revolt on the part of the foreign troops stationed in Rio de Janeiro.

The mission of Colonel Cotter to Ireland, for the purpose of engaging emigrants there, has been already alluded to. The terms entered into by this officer with the colonists were, that all should have their passage paid; that each able-bodied man should receive wages equivalent to a shilling a-day, and that they should be furnished with good provisions, and appropriate clothing for a hot climate. Artists and labourers were assured of constant employment, and the latter, who were to bring their own working utensils, were to receive grants of land of forty acres and upwards. As a further inducement,

it was stated, that no one would be compelled to remain against his will; and not a word was said regarding any engagement for military service.

These terms were far too advantageous not to meet with immediate acceptance, and before many weeks had elapsed, near three thousand emigrants, men, women, and children, were under sail for Rio de Janeiro. Here their arrival had neither been anticipated by the inhabitants, nor were they welcome. The intention of the Government to compel the greater number of them to take up arms, was too evident to admit of any doubt; and the general repugnance to a foreign military force has been already spoken of.

The majority of the emigrants arrived at their destination early in January, 1828, and were disembarked in a condition which, under other circumstances, could not have failed to awaken compassion. Mothers with their infants on the breast, young girls approaching womanhood, and athletic labourers in the prime of life, were all landed in a state of almost utter nudity. From the landing-place they were marched off to the barracks, in the Rua dos Barbonos, amid the taunts of the populace, and the jeers of multitudes of negroes, shouting and clapping their hands at the unexpected apparition of the "white slaves," as they were pleased to deno-

minate the unfortunate Irish. This extraordinary reception immediately gave rise to the belief that they had been betrayed, and they speedily became clamorous for the fulfilment of the engagement entered into with Colonel Cotter. As, however, the liberal terms entered into by this agent had been wholly unauthorized on the part of the Government, their fulfilment was explicitly refused; and the male portion of the colonists were clearly given to understand that they had no alternative, excepting either to enlist or starve. For a time they were incredulous. They could not believe that the Government of any civilized country would consent to sanction the unparalleled want of faith, by means of which they had been seduced from their native country. They published the conditions of their engagement, and, aware of the apprehension with which they were regarded by the public, asserted that they were engaged as pacific colonists, and not as soldiers. At the same time, many resolutely abstained from enlistment, under the hope that tardy justice would at length be accorded to them. Others, meanwhile, sought for temporary relief in inebriety, and this fatal propensity, by involving them in perpetual quarrels with the natives, tended to augment at once their unpopularity and their wretchedness. The repeated disorders occurring in the districts where they

were stationed, finally led to the removal of the greater part of their number to more distant quarters, where all who had the pertinacity to insist on the fulfilment of their compact with Colonel Cotter, were deprived of their rations, and compelled to subsist solely on eleemosynary aid.

Such was the condition of the Irish emigrants, when, in the month of June, a German soldier was, for some trifling neglect of discipline, condemned to receive two hundred and fifty lashes. Before, however, that number had been completed, his comrades cried out that it was intended to sacrifice his life, and they set him at liberty. On receiving intelligence of this, the Irish, to the number of fifty or sixty, ran to co-operate with the Germans, and the mutiny assumed a serious aspect. Several wine and provision stores were sacked, and the quarters of the officers were attacked and pillaged. On the following morning, the number of the insurgents was found to have increased, and the major of a German regiment, whom the soldiers accused of having kept back their pay, was killed on the spot, and two other officers wounded.

Bento Barrozo Pereira, the Minister of War, then gave orders to the Count of Rio Pardo, the commander of the native forces in the city, to attack the foreigners, and to give no quarter.

A crowd of free men of colour and slaves, of their own accord, went to co-operate with the native troops on the occasion, and upwards of sixty Irish were killed, and one hundred wounded in the fray. The slaves, who had been imprudently entrusted with arms, were distinguished above all the rest by their barbarities; in many instances, severing the limbs of their expiring victims from the bodies, and bearing them off in triumph.

This unfortunate occurrence decided Don Pedro on again sending home the Irish. Mr. Aston, the English Secretary of Legation, proceeded to re-assemble them; and on the 3d of July, one thousand four hundred of their number were again embarked for Ireland. The remainder dispersed themselves in the provinces. The German regiment was removed to another station, and one of the ring-leaders of the insurrection was subsequently executed. The patriots were overjoyed with these distressing results, and the affair was represented, in the pages of some of their lately instituted Journals, as a most magnanimous effort on the part of the people; but the Emperor, in whom the project of bringing over the Irish had met its chief partizan, indignant beyond measure at the Minister of War, dismissed not only him, but all the others who undertook his defence; Calmon, Araujo, Lima, and the Ministers of

Justice and Marine. On the adoption of this change, even the Emperor appeared to have at length been awakened to the necessity of forming a more popular Administration; and now, for the first time since the consolidation of the monarchy, were the important departments of Justice and Finance offered to members of the patriot party. The individuals designated had, however, but little anxiety to accept office, in the present embarrassed state of affairs. They were under the conviction that it was a change of system, rather than of individuals, that was required; and as they had but little confidence, either in any projected reforms, or in the steadiness of the determinations of Don Pedro, they decided on remaining in their capacity of censors. The members for the new Cabinet were thus necessarily selected from the Ministerial ranks. With the exception of Joze Clemente Pereira, the individual formerly banished by the Andradas, who was appointed Minister of the Empire and of Justice, they were none of them endowed with much force of character. Pereira himself was indefatigable in the Cabinet, and possessed of considerable administrative talent; yet vacillating in his political opinions, often inconsistent, and desirous of conciliating at once the Emperor and opposition; the one by

an implicit and unscrupulous obedience, and the other by every species of condescension.

Scarcely had the organization of the Ministry been completed, when they were placed in rather a singular dilemma by the arrival of the French Vice-Admiral Roussin, on the 6th of July, who came with a line-of-battle ship and two frigates, for the purpose of demanding the immediate restitution of all the French vessels taken in the river Plata, as well as an indemnity for the losses incurred. The agitation caused through the city on this occasion was extreme. Both Chambers were indisposed to accede to any such demand; yet, as Roussin threatened to employ force in case other means were unavailing, Don Pedro thought fit to put an end to the question, and of his own will directed the restitution of the vessels reclaimed, with indemnity for loss; and transmitted a declaration to this effect to the French commander. The vessels were in consequence given up, and it was stipulated that the payment of the indemnity should be completed before the end of the year 1829.

The mediation of the British Government between Brazil and Buenos Ayres, in the meantime, tended to facilitate the long desired peace. Under the auspices of Great Britain negotiations were entered upon, the basis of which was that the Banda Oriental should remain independent for the space of five years, and afterwards adopt

whatever Government she might think proper. The Cabildo of Monte Video, who had compromised themselves too far in favour of the Imperial cause to hope for much consideration under any independent government, were implacably opposed to this arrangement, and drew up a petition to the Emperor, praying his Majesty rather to continue the war than thus to abandon the province. The time for this was, however, past. The Republican army was daily augmenting in numbers, whilst that of Brazil was as rapidly dwindling away; and Fructuozo Rivera, whose defection from the cause of Buenos Ayres had, ever since the adoption of the land blockade of Monte Video, been notorious, at this crisis made overtures of reconciliation to Lavalleja, and began to ravage the comparatively unprotected province of Misiones. Notwithstanding the frequent avowal of Don Pedro to the Chambers that the war should be carried on until the incorporation was acknowledged, the insurrection, and subsequent removal of the revolted foreign troops, the difficulty of raising recruits, and the threatening aspect of affairs in Portugal, altogether rendered peace a matter of absolute necessity; and in conjunction with British interference, led to a total abandonment of the pretensions formerly set forth. A preliminary Treaty of Peace, stated, in the heading of the document itself to have

been accomplished through the mediation of his Brazilian Majesty, was concluded in Rio de Janeiro on the 28th of August 1828. By its terms the long disputed province was declared an independent state, separate alike from Brazil and the United Provinces of Buenos Ayres, and subject to whatever laws the interests, necessities and resources of its inhabitants should point out. The Representatives of the said province were immediately to establish a provisional Government for the administration of affairs, until the installation of the definitive Government, to be created by the Constitution. On the installation of this provisional Government, the authorities at present existing in the province were to be withdrawn. If within the space of five years the tranquillity of Monte Video should be perturbed by civil war, the contracting parties mutually bound each other to render all necessary assistance to its legal Government. After the expiration of this period it was decided that all protection should cease, and that the said province should be considered as in a state of perfect and absolute independence. An absolute and perpetual oblivion of all political offences, a mutual interchange of prisoners, and an article guaranteeing the free navigation of the river Plata for both parties, were also stipulated on terms of perfect reciprocity.

Such was the termination of the fatal and disastrous war of the South; a war which, independently of the losses sustained by Insurance Companies, and private individuals, is calculated to have cost Brazil one hundred and twenty millions of cruzades, and eight thousand citizens. At the same time it must be acknowledged, that it appears to have been the means of preserving her from such modifications of her Constitution as might, if put in force, have terminated in the overthrow of many of her most valuable institutions. The continued ill success of the Brazilian arms had, moreover, the effect of almost annihilating that thirst after military distinction which perhaps holds out but too many attractions to the ardent and enthusiastic. The energies of the rising generation were, as a consequence of this ill success, turned rather towards a civil than a military career; and the social ameliorations which have resulted from this circumstance, have in all probability been the means of since preserving Brazil from utter anarchy.

In Buenos Ayres, on the other hand, where the struggle had been attended by a continued run of good fortune, and where victory after victory had kindled up the enthusiasm of the inhabitants, results directly contrary in their nature were preparing. Scarcely had peace been proclaimed, when, as a consequence of

the *eclât* with which they were still invested, the military acquired a preponderance over the civil authorities; dissensions succeeded; each petty chief appealed to the sword, and the fertile plains on the banks of the river Plata have since this period been little else than one vast theatre of anarchy, civil war, fraternal bloodshed, and devastation.

NOTES.

Page 2.—*For more than three centuries, &c.*

The affairs of Brazil were under the superintendence of the "Ultra-Marine Council" in Lisbon, a body whose aptness for their functions may be, in some measure, illustrated by the following fact. The fort of Coimbra, situated on the frontier of Matto Grosso, had, a short time previous to the conclusion of the treaty of limits, effected in 1777 between Spain and Portugal, been attacked by a Spanish force. On receiving intelligence to this effect the Ultra-Marine Council immediately ordered that the "Naó das quintas," or line-of-battle ship annually sent to Brazil for the King's share of the product of the gold mines, should be despatched to the relief of the garrison. How the navigation of a line-of-battle ship up the Uruguay was to be effected was not explained.

Page 2.—*Previously to the year* 1808, *&c.*

The seat of the Vice-royalty was, originally, in Bahia, but was removed to Rio de Janeiro as a more central situation in the year 1763. Philip III. appointed D. Jorge Mascarenhas, Marquis de Montalvaõ, as the first

Viceroy, in 1640, and this nobleman took possession of his post on the 15th June in the same year, but only retained it until the month of April in the year following. Twenty-two years afterwards elapsed ere Don Affonso VI. revived the title. This he finally did in the person of D. Vasco Mascarenhas, first Count de Obidos, who took office on the 24th June, 1663, and retained it until the 13th June, 1667, when he delivered over his baton to Alexandre de Souza, who came out as Captain General. From this period the Vice-royal Government was interrupted for the space of forty-seven years, but was again established by Don João V. in favour of D. Pedro Antonio de Noronhas, second Count de Villa Verde and first Marquis de Angeja, who entered upon his government on the 13th Jane, 1714. D. Sancho de Faro e Souza, who succeeded him, was unprovided with any patent as Viceroy, but D. Vasco Fernandes Cesar de Menezes, first Count de Sabugoza, who succeeded him on the 23d November, 1720, was furnished with it, and it was henceforward conceded to his successors, who were, André de Mello e Castro, installed on the 11th May, 1735; D. Luiz Pedro Peregrino, tenth Count de Atouguia, who received the baton in 1749; D. Marcos de Noronha, sixth Count dos Arcos, who took charge of the government in 1755; and, lastly, D. Antonio de Almeida Soares e Portugal, third Count de Avintes, and afterwards Marquis de Lavradio, who took office on the 9th January, 1760, but who died on the 4th July following. Through this casualty the government of Bahia fell into the hands of the Chancellor Thomaz Rubim de Barros Barreto, to whom succeeded the Chancellor Jozé Carvalho de Andrade, who had for his associate in authority Colonel Gonçalo Xavier de Barros Alvim, and afterwards the Archbishop D. Fr. Manoel de Santa Ignez. From the hands of these D. An-

tonio Rolim de Moura Tavares, first Count de Azambuja, who, as Captain General, received the government of the Capitania in 1766. Bahia could this enumerate only eight Governors holding the patent of Viceroy.

The first Viceroy in Rio de Janeiro was D. Antonio Alvarez de Cunha, Count of the same title, who took possession of his office on the 16th October, 1763. To the Count de Cunha succeeded the Count de Azambuja, the ex-Governor of Bahia, who took office on the 21st November, 1767. The subsequent Viceroys were D. Luiz de Almeida Portugal Soares Deça Alarcão Silva Mascarenhas, second Marquis de Lavradio, and fourth Count de Avintes, installed on the 4th November, 1769; Luis de Vasconcellos e Souza, who took office on the 5th April, 1779; D. Jozé Luiz de Castro, the second Count de Rezende, installed on the 9th July, 1790; D. Fernando Jozé de Portugal, installed on the 14th October, 1801, and, finally, D. Marcos de Noronha, eighth Count dos Arcos, who entered upon his functions on the 21st August, 1806, and remained in office until the arrival of Don João VI. from Portugal in 1808.

In one of the latest books published on the affairs of Brazil, viz., "Histoire du Brésil depuis sa découverte jusqu'à nos jours," the author, Mr. D. B. Warden, has, by some inexplicable mistake, given the names of several of the later Captains General of Bahia as the Viceroys of Rio de Janeiro.

Page 5.—*In Brazil, also, their power was once considerable, &c.*

On occasion of the French invasion in 1710, Francisco de Moraes e Castro, the Captain General of Rio

de Janeiro, was deposed by the municipal chamber of the city, and the Government in Lisbon subsequently testified their approbation of the step. On another occasion an entire chamber was arrested for having unduly assumed the same authority. The patronage of the respective parties was of more weight in Lisbon than the evidence on either side.

Page 6.—*The orders of knighthood, &c.*

"The principal order of knighthood," observes an English author, when treating on the affairs of Portugal about the close of the last century, "is the Order of Christ, instituted by King Dennis soon after the abolition of the Knights Templars, and confirmed in the year 1319 by Pope John XXII. The insignia of this is a red cross within a white one. The seat of this order is at the city of Thomar. It has four hundred and fifty-four commanderies. Concerning the order of Santo Iago writers differ, but it is said to have been raised about the year 1030, from the fraternity of some other orders; and to have received the confirmation of Pope Alexander III. The badge of this order is a red sword, in the shape of a cross, resembling the handles of ancient swords. To this order belong forty-seven small towns, and places, and one hundred and fifty commanderies, besides the splendid convent of Santos o Novo, to the west of Lisbon. The third order in Portugal, that of Aviz, is said to have been instituted so early as the year 1147, by King Affonso Henriques. The seat of this order is at Aviz in the province of Alemtejo. Its commanderies are only forty-nine in number, and the badge belonging to it is a green cross in the form of a lily. These three orders are all religious, with liberty of marriage

to the knights. The Kings of Portugal are their perpetual Masters. The Knights of Malta have likewise twenty-three commanderies here."

In addition to the above orders, it may be remarked that there was one denominated of the "Torre e Espada," (Tower and Sword,) instituted by Don Affonso V., but it soon fell into entire disuse, and was only re-established during the reign of Don João VI. This latter monarch also, on the acclamation, created another order, the "Ordem de Conçeição," but this was conceded to very few individuals.

Page 7.—*The revenue of the Archbishop of Bahia, &c.*

The Episcopalian Establishment in Brazil was, and is still, as follows: —

	Comprehending within its limits
Archbishopric of Bahia	Sergipe.
Bishopric of Rio de Janeiro .	Santa Catharina, Espirito Santo, and Rio Grande do Sul.
——— San Paulo	San Paulo only.
——— Marianna	Minas Geraes.
——— Cuiabá	Matto Grosso.
——— Pernambuco ...	Parahyba, Rio Grande do Norte, Alagoas, Ceará.
——— Maranham	Piauhy.
——— Pará	Pará only.

The author has not been able to ascertain the exact revenues of all the Bishops, as they consisted in part of landed property, and were thus of course dependent on circumstances. He can, however, state that they were none of them paid equally with the Archbishop of Bahia. The Congrua, or sum paid to them by the Government was

very small, varying from four to eight thousand cruzades per annum, (at par from 450*l.* to 900*l.* sterling.) That allowed to the vicar varied from four hundred to eight hundred cruzades per annum, (at par from 45*l.* to 90*l.* sterling), and the fees from their office seldom more than doubled this amount, except in the three principal cities, Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, and Pernambuco. All property bequeathed to the Church was, and is still placed at the discretion of the "Confraria," or lay-brotherhood, attached to the respective establishment, and devoted principally to the expense of religious ceremonies, to alms, to the relief of the brethren sick or in distress, and other similar purposes. The Vicar has a voice in the administration of the fund, but derives little direct benefit from it. Many of these "Confrarias" thus possess landed property and dwelling-houses, and with the revenues each supports a hospital for the brothers, in whose numbers are comprised nearly all the middle class of citizens.

In Brazil there were never any tribunals for the adjudication of ecclesiastical offences. While in all the Spanish Colonies the Inquisition was established, delegates and familiars only, of the Holy Office, were appointed in Brazil. This circumstance tended to modify, in a very remarkable manner, the agency and influence of that fearful tribunal. The delegates having no positive jurisdiction, were obliged as a primary step, to embark all delinquents for Lisbon: and although this measure was adopted in a few instances, the individuals accused, in general, found means for its frustration through the patronage and protection of the civil authorities. Fortunately for the Colony, her later Viceroys (with the exception only of the Count de Rezende) were singularly free from the taint of fanaticism. Under the administration of Don Fernando José de Portugal, a translation of the "Tartuffe" was even allowed to be represented on the public stage, the acting

delegate of the Holy Office in Rio de Janeiro in vain attempting to obtain the sanction of the Viceroy for its suppression. D. Fernando contented himself by inviting the worthy father to his box in the theatre on the evening of the representation, and the latter finding his complaints altogether unheeded, prudently dropped the contest. The familiars were numerous, but of little weight. Any person might obtain the qualification, provided that he could in the first instance obtain an authenticated certificate that in his origin he was free from all taint of either Moorish, Indian, or other Infidel blood. On this account, it became common for individuals of suspected origin to obtain the office, not so much from any ambition for its exercise, as from the anxiety of thus proving themselves of the pure Circassian (or rather Christian) strain.

Page 8.—*All manufactures, except the preparation of sugar, &c.*

Even in the present century a number of spinning machines, of the very rudest construction, were publicly broken in Rio de Janeiro, in consequence of an order from the metropolitan Government. On another occasion, the Count de Cunha shut up the shops of the goldsmiths. In the words of the Canon Pizarro, the most faithful if not the most enlightened historian who has as yet appeared in Brazil: "He carried into execution the 'Carta Regia' of the 28th November, 1698, which prohibited the existence of more than two or three goldsmiths in the province; and another 'Carta' of the 26th September, 1703, ordering the observance of the foregoing, and determining that the shops of all exceeding this number should be closed and their tools seized; and also a proclamation of

the 20th May, 1730, ordering that the regulations determined on the 13th July, 1689, should be adhered to; and finally, a 'Carta Regia' of the 30th July, 1766, ordering the office of goldsmith to be suspended in the Captainships of Minas, Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, and Pernambuco; and he prohibited the public labour of these said goldsmiths, and caused their tools and the instruments in their workshops to be carried off to the mint. This prohibition, however, endured but few years; the following Viceroys winking at its infraction, from a regard to the necessity which there existed for these artisans in the capital of the State, where it was daily necessary to work at least in the repair of plate and jewellery, rendered unavailable through accidents."—See "Memorias Historicas do Rio de Janeiro," vol. v. page 180.

Page 9. — *It is evident there could be very little similarity, &c.*

"There is certainly," (observes St. Hilaire), "nothing homogeneous among the inhabitants of Brazil. Nevertheless, it may in general be said that their manners are gentle, that they are good, generous, and hospitable, even magnificently so; and that in particular in some provinces they are notable for their intelligence and vivacity. But the colonial system had kept them in the most profound ignorance, the admission of slavery rendered the example of the most abject vices familiar; and from the time of the arrival of the Court of Portugal in Rio de Janeiro, the habit of venality had been introduced among all classes. A multitude of haughty and overbearing patriarchs, divided among themselves by intrigues, puerile vanities, and petty interests, were disseminated over all

the superficies of Brazil, but society had as yet no existence. Scarcely could any elements of sociability be discovered."

It may be worthy of remark, that the inhabitants of Bahia were generally reputed the most intelligent of Brazil, those of Pernambuco the most ardent and independent in character, those of Minas the most pacific and industrious, and those of San Paulo the most inflexible and persevering,—characteristics, probably arising from the respective peculiarities of their physical condition. Bahia had been the ancient metropolis; in Pernambuco the Dutch had left behind them traces of their republican institutions; in Minas the perpetual search for gold was of itself a circumstance calculated to give rise to the habits pointed out; and in San Paulo the wild and roving habits of the early European population were well calculated to engraft upon them the disposition noted above. As a fearful exemplification of the habits of their forefathers, the traditional story of "Sete Orelhas," or seven ears, is often cited by the Paulistas themselves. A young man, a native of San Paulo, had succeeded in seducing a young lady in the same province, which circumstance coming to the ears of her relations, seven of her cousins, who considered the honour of the family as implicated, took an oath of revenge, entrapped the seducer into their power, and flayed him alive. Apprehending, however, some act of retributive justice on the part of a brother of their victim, to whom he was much attached, most of them soon after retired into distant provinces. The precaution was, however, taken in vain. The brother pursued and assassinated them every one, although it took him eleven years to compass his object. As a trophy of his vengeance, he also took from each individual whom he assassinated, an ear,

and hence the appellation of "Sete Orelhas," by which he is still spoken of.

Page 9.—*Provided for by the labour of slaves, &c.*

In music, an art which not even the Court of Portugal could regard as dangerous, Brazil had even surpassed the mother country, a circumstance, perhaps, owing to the more indolent and quiescent habits of the population, and to the comparative isolation of the dwellers in the interior. Regarding the popular Brazilian Modinhas, Mr. Beckford, in his "Travels in Italy, Spain, and Portugal," speaks in the following enthusiastic strain of eulogium:—

"Those who have never heard this original sort of music, must and will remain ignorant of some of the most bewitching melodies that ever existed since the days of the Sybarites. They consist of languid, interrupted measures, as if the breath were gone with excess of rapture, and the soul panting to meet the kindred soul of some beloved object; with a childish carelessness, they steal into the heart before it has time to warn itself against their enervating influence; you fancy you are swallowing milk, and are admitting the poison of voluptuousness into the closest recesses of your existence;—at least such beings as feel the power of harmonious sounds are doing so; I won't answer for hard-eared phlegmatic northern animals."

It is possible that the merits of the performers (two young ladies of the Court of Portugal), may have been in some measure instrumental in thus exciting the raptures of Mr. Beckford. Many of the modinhas are certainly very beautiful, but European music has of late taken their

place in Brazil, and that cumbrous-looking instrument, the piano-forte, has quite superseded the guitar. The science of music has thus advanced, and the ear may receive additional gratification from the change; yet all that could enrapture alike the eye and the mind, the expression of the features, the easy, graceful, half-reclining attitude, and the countless associations of poetry and romance connected with the latter instrument, have, at the same time, disappeared, to the infinite regret, amongst others, of the author, who, on this point at least, acknowledges himself a partizan for "things as they were."

Page 9.—*Education had as yet, &c.*

As amongst all people in the infancy of civilization, there were, in conjunction with an implicit belief in signs and omens, many popular superstitions. For every malady there was some particular saint, whose intercession was supposed to be more available than that of any other. In all diseases of the throat, for instance, St. Braz was the saint appealed to; in case of wounds and scars, St. Roque; for protection against lightning, Sta. Barbara and St. Jeronymo; against the plague, St. Sebastiaõ; against vermin in the habit of attacking the cattle, St. Mark; in case of suffering caused by fire, St. Lourenço, (who, by-the-bye, was roasted on a gridiron); in behalf of bachelors, St. Joaõ Evangelista; and in the affairs of Hymen, St. Gonçalo. For the recovery of all lost and stolen property, St. Antonio was usually invoked, as well as for the purpose of again bringing runaway slaves to the domicile of their masters. In the last instance, a "trezena," or prayer to the saint, repeated for thirteen successive days, was resorted to; and in case the

slave was to appear at all, he was expected to show himself ere the expiration of the allotted period, St. Antonio also held, and up to the present day still holds, in Rio de Janeiro, the post of colonel in the army,* and receives his pay as such through the hands of his terrestrial delegates the Franciscan monks, who profess to apply the sum exclusively to the illumination of the altar of their church, on occasion of their religious festivals.

Since, however, the opening of the ports, and the consequent ingress of heretics from all quarters, the efficacy of spiritual intercession appears to have greatly abated, and, to the infinite regret of the pious, aneurisms of the heart and other diseases, the existence and nature of which were unknown to the old Portuguese practitioners, have not as yet been entrusted to the charge of any tutelar saint whatever.

Page 10.—*During the Viceroyalty of the Count de Rezende.*

One of the members was in the habit of receiving the "Courrier d'Europe," a French newspaper, printed in London. As the conductors of this periodical were principally French emigrants, its pages were naturally of a conservative, rather than of a disorganizing tendency; yet, the individual in question was summoned before the tribunals, charged in the indictment with receiving revolutionary papers with a red seal (the stamp) upon them. The red seal was alone regarded by the

* In Lisbon he holds a still higher rank, in consequence of some prodigies of valour effected by the regiments in which the Saint was quartered.

authorities as unquestionable evidence of the democratic tendency of the paper, and its future reception was in consequence rigidly prohibited.

Page 10.—*During the year* 1789, *a conspiracy, &c.*

In the number of the conspirators was Gonzaga, one of the most elegant Lusitanian poets of the last century. He was a Portuguese by birth, but had been appointed to the office of Juiz de Fora, in Villa Rica, where he became deeply enamoured of a young lady, to whom, under the name of Marilia, nearly all his poems are addressed. His sentence was banishment to Mozambique, on the coast of Africa, whither he was sent, and where he died in wretchedness. Many of his lyrical poems may be found in the "Parnasso Lusitano." His style is often incorrect, but his language is harmonious, and his ideas are characterized by a depth of feeling and a tenderness unrivalled by any of the poetical writers of the present day. Marilia, the once-cherished object of his affections is still living, at an advanced age, in the province of Minas Geraes.

Regarding the grounds of his condemnation, the eloquent words of Mr. Southey may be quoted. "Thomaz Antonio Gonzaga," observes this author, "was one of those who were condemned to banishment for life. There was a doubt concerning the part which he had taken: both Tiradentes and P. Carlos Correia denied that he had appeared at any of their meetings, or taken any part in their designs; they had used his name, they said, without his knowledge, because of his reputation, and the weight which his supposed sanction would give to their cause. Tiradentes protested that he did not say this for the pur-

pose of screening Gonzaga, because there was a personal enmity between them. There was no direct proof to countervail this positive testimony in his behalf; but there was strong ground for suspicion: he had urged the Intendant to levy the tax, not for the deficiency of one year's fifths alone (which appears to have been what the Government intended), but for the whole arrears. His defence was, that he believed that the "Junta de Fazenda," when they tried this, would be convinced of its utter impracticability, and that, by reporting accordingly to the Queen, they would obtain a remission. But this policy appeared too fine to be honest; the judges *believed* that he acted in collusion with the conspirators for the purpose of exciting discontent and tumult; and upon that opinion they condemned him."—See Southey's History of Brazil, vol. iii. chap. 43.

Page 11.—*By the same sentence it was, among other ignominious provisions, enacted, &c.*

As a further instance of the barbarity of the judicial institutions at this period, it may also be mentioned that Jozé de Rezende Costa, one of the officers at present in the Treasury (in 1835), was sentenced to death for not having come forward to give evidence against his own father. The father was certainly in the list of conspirators, yet, the only charge of which he could be proved guilty, and, indeed, the only one noted in the act of accusation, was, that he had said that he would not send his son to Coimbra to study, since he was in hopes that ere long they would have a University in the province of Minas. This unguarded expression was, nevertheless, construed into high treason, and both he and his son were condemned to

death, a sentence which was, however, afterwards mercifully commuted into banishment to the coast of Africa. For further particulars relative to the manner in which justice was habitually administered, the reader is referred to the Appendix (Document No. 1.)

Page 12.—*Yet the tyranny exercised over them was of a negative, rather than of a positive character, &c.*

Sufficient confirmation of this may be found in the instructions of the Marquis de Lavradio to his successor (Document No. 1). Arbitrary acts were of every-day occurrence, yet, the direct exercise of cruelty was extremely rare. The memory of several of the Viceroys and Captains General is still respected even by the advocates for the representative system of government. Luiz de Vasconcellos e Souza was universally esteemed for his urbanity, his probity, and his unceasing anxiety for the public welfare. Don Fernando Jozé de Portugal was also a promoter of the arts and a patron of talent; and at a subsequent period, when Minister of State, under Don João VI., he published a translation of Pope's "Essay on Man," and of the "Essay on Criticism" of the same author in Portuguese prose, with many notes, evincing extensive erudition. Targini, Barão de Saõ Lourenço, the chief officer of the royal treasury, afterwards took advantage of the literary predilections of Don Fernando in a manner evincing considerable adroitness. He acquired a sufficient knowledge of the English language for the purposes of translation, and, in an incredible short space of time, produced the same "Essay on Man" in blank verse, and soon after caused it to be published in England along with a voluminous series of notes, certainly little analogous to the sub-

ject, but resplendent with quotations from both the Greek and German languages, neither of which Targini himself understood. This artful flattery had its effect, and from this period until the departure of the royal family, or rather during all the time which Don João VI. resided in Brazil, the influence of Targini operated unrestrainedly throughout all the financial measures adopted. Though, however, endowed with both tact and vivacity, he proved a most miserable financier, as may be gathered from many passages in the preceding history.

Page 13.—*During the voyage the vessels were dispersed.*

One of the vessels of the squadron having on board some ladies of the court, arrived in Rio de Janeiro on the 17th January, yet, such was the rigorous etiquette in observance, that from motives of respect to the Prince, the poor creatures remained pent up in the vessel for more than a month, not daring, under any pretext, to disembark before his Royal Highness.

Page 14.—*A printing press, denominated a Royal one, was established.*

Some years after the establishment of the royal press in Rio de Janeiro, another was established in Bahia under the protection of the government. These were the only two in existence when the Portuguese Constitution was proclaimed in February, 1821. Up to this period a rigid scrutiny was also exercised with regard to all books imported. In the tribunal denominated the "Desembargo do Paço," founded soon after the arrival of

the monarch, there was a list of the works, the entry of which might be safely allowed. All not comprised in this were rigidly prohibited.

Page 15.—*The Regent Don John.*

The Portuguese write *Dom* João, and prefix to the names of females *Dóna.* The author has, however, followed the English orthography, and written *Don* and *Donna.*

Page 32.—*Three individuals were killed on the spot, and upwards of twenty wounded.*

The number of victims on this occasion has been much exaggerated. Mrs. Graham also, in her "Journal of a Voyage to Brazil," asserts that the electors were assembled for the purpose of nominating their representatives to the Cortes; but the fact is, that the individuals assembled were only the parochial electors who were not invested with any powers whatever for this object.

Dr. Walsh, in his "Notices of Brazil," has also fallen into the same error. In fact, the entire work of this latter writer is so extremely incorrect, that but little dependence can be placed upon either the historical or the topographical details with which he has favoured his readers. The revolt of the auxiliary division on the 26th February, 1821, is, by the Doctor, fixed on the 25th of that month; the relation given (Vol. i. p. 191.) of the exhibition of the portraits of the King and Queen in the theatre, as a substitute for personal attendance, is altogether a romance, the King having attended in person on the evening in

question. The "Praça de Commercio"* is, (in page 193 of Vol. i.) unceremoniously, transferred from its actual locality on the Praya dos Mineiros to the Rua Direita; the number of the auxiliary troops who, on the 11th January, 1822, took up their station on the Castle Hill is stated at seven hundred, whereas, they were just double the number; the Prince Don Pedro is said to have headed the Brazilians assembled in the Campo on the following day, whereas, the fact is, that he kept out of the way and was not even seen in the Campo; General Madeira is said to have landed in Bahia in February, 1822, whereas, he had already been stationed there a long time prior to the commencement of the revolution. In page 217 the rivulet Ypiranga is transformed into a town, and in page 223 the Doctor speaks of the ships lying in dock, although there is not a single dock within the limits of the bay. In page 244 the first Legislative Assembly is said to have been called together in May, 1825, whereas, this convocation only took place in the following year, 1826; the Deputies are stated to be elected for *three* years only, instead of *four*, and, in the same paragraph, the present Emperor is stated to have been born in October, 1825, although (page 269) his birth-day is afterwards named as taking place on the 2d of December in that year. Let not, however, the reader suppose that these are the only inaccuracies by which the work in question is disfigured. Similar ones, though perhaps of minor importance, occur in almost every page throughout the entire two volumes.

Page 38.—*A rigid and inflexible system of economy, &c.*

"I have reduced the twelve hundred horses in the

* Now a part of the Custom-house.

stables of the royal establishment to one hundred and fifty-six. All my linen is washed by my own slaves; my expenses are less than formerly, and if I can economize still further, I intend to do so for the good of the nation."—Letter of Don Pedro to the King of Portugal, dated 17th July, 1821.

Page 42.—*The colonial system which the merchants in Bahia, &c.*

The commercial policy of the Cortes of Lisbon, and the meddling spirit by which they were actuated, as well in the domestic concerns of Portugal as in those of Brazil, are so fully exemplified in the following decree, which the author has selected from a number of similar documents, that any comment upon it, or attempt at subsequent exposition would be idle.

TRANSLATED COPY.

"The Regency of the Kingdom, in the name of the King Don João VI., make known that the General Extraordinary and Constituent Cortes of the Portuguese Nation, have decreed the following:—

"The General Extraordinary and Constituent Cortes of the Portuguese nation, taking into consideration the heavy loss which the free entry of foreign swine has caused in this kingdom, not only to the breeders of national swine, but also in preventing the augmentation of the forests supplying acorns and beech mast, and desiring to promote and augment these two branches of *agriculture*, decree the following:

"1st. From the publication of this decree henceforward, the entry of foreign swine into this kingdom of Portugal and Algarve is prohibited, under pain of seizure.

"2d. Any authority, or any private individual, may apprehend them, and one-half of the product will be given to the apprehender, and the other half to the poor of the place where the seizure is effected.

"3d. After seizure, they will be sold by auction before the Municipal Chamber of the Magistrate of the place, who, within the space of twenty-four hours, will decide, verbally and in a summary manner, any doubts which may arise; and the municipalities will afterwards pass sentence according to the terms of the preceding article.

"Let the Regency of the Kingdom thus understand it, and cause it to be executed.—Palace of Cortes, 24th May, 1821.

"Hermano Joze Braamchamp de Sobral, President.
"João Babtista Felgueras, Deputy Secretary.
"Agostino de Mendonça Falcão, Deputy Secretary."

Page 55.—*It is also gratifying to record, &c.*

The secular clergy are also (as the author can abundantly testify), in general, kind-hearted, hospitable, and altogether free from that persecuting spirit, which is in England too often regarded as the invariable characteristic of the catholic priesthood. As to the regular clergy residing in the monasteries, they are too thinly scattered to have much weight in the social scale; and as the Government has prevented the further entry of novices, they were every day diminishing in number. Many of the monasteries in the interior are already uninhabited, and some few are even falling into ruins.

The contrast between the condition of the Brazilian clergy and that of the same body in the Spanish Viceroyalties, was striking and worthy of interest. The Archbishop of Mexico enjoyed an income of upwards of one hundred and twenty thousand silver dollars, or fully ten times the amount of the revenue allotted to the Archbishop of Bahia, and the other ecclesiastical dignitaries in the respective colonies were paid in like proportion. This disparity tended to render the temporal interests of the two bodies essentially different, and, as might naturally be expected, led to a different modification of clerical influence during the revolutions which have subsequently taken place. While the Brazilian clergy were ever the foremost in promoting liberal principles, the Spanish clerical body, influenced by their spiritual heads, were the firmest supporters of the old institutions; nor was it until the Cortes of the mother country undertook to reform the ecclesiastical establishment of the peninsula, that they declared against their former rulers, and espoused the cause of the revolution; doubtless from an apprehension lest the new regulations in Spain would soon be enforced in Mexico.

It is also worthy of note, that while in Brazil the exercise of all religions is permitted, the intolerance prevailing in Mexico is still extreme. "While," observes an intelligent American writer on the present state of Mexico,—"while the revolution has regenerated Mexico, and swept off colonial despotism, with all its train of corruptions and abuses, it has yet done little to relieve the nation from the thraldom of an established hierarchy, and the worst of all despotisms, that of superstition."

"In the third article of the Mexican constitution, it is declared, 'that the religion of the Mexican nation is the Catholic Apostolic Roman. The nation protects it by

just and wise laws, and prohibits the exercise of any other.' This provision," continues the writer, "but little accords with the free, just, and liberal principles of the constitution of which it forms a part, and casts the only dark shade on the luminous political horizon of the nation, and its fair prospects of a splendid career of moral, political, and social advancement."

Page 73.—*Where he was seized and retained a prisoner by the Dictator, Dr. Francia.*

"After Artigas had been confined a few days in the Convent of Mercy, he was sent, without being able to obtain an audience from the Dictator, to the village of Caruguaty, eighty-five leagues N. E. of Assumption. From that place it was impossible for him to escape but by a desert on the Portuguese side, of which there was but little probability after the excesses which he had committed against that nation. The Dictator assigned him a house and lands, with thirty-two piasters a month, his former pay as lieutenant of Chasseurs, and ordered the Governor of the Circuit to furnish him besides with whatever accommodations he required, and to treat him with respect. Here, at the age of sixty, he cultivated his farm with his own hands, and, as if to make amends for his past life, became the father of the poor of Curuguaty: he distributed the greater part of the produce amongst them, and afforded all the assistance in his power to such of them as laboured under sickness. In this manner terminated the political career of Artigas."—See Essai Historique sur la Revolution de Paraguay, par Rengger et Longchamps.

Page 78.—*The successful policy pursued in former days by the Marquis de Pombal.*

The Marquis de Pombal was Chief Minister of Portugal during the greater part of the reign of Don Jozé 1st, and was certainly an able, though somewhat despotic statesman. In his administration of justice he was rigid: he restrained and punished the defrauders of the state, and, relying on his own energy and his great personal influence over the Monarch, he frequently set alike the clergy and the nobility at defiance. His chief aim was to restore Portugal to all her pristine greatness, and in the pursuance of this object, he made every sacrifice. In his commercial policy, however, (and it was to this principally which the Cortes of Lisbon alluded in their eulogies) he was not at all in advance of his neighbours, as may be gathered from the following trait.

By a treaty of commerce with Portugal, dated in 1703, the English and Dutch obtained an exemption in their favour, of a law prohibiting the importation of woollens. In return, they agreed to take the wines of Portugal, and in consequence of the demand thus created, many extensive corn districts were converted into vineyards. On the accession of Pombal (then Count de Oeiras) to the ministry, he immediately ordered a third part of the vines in the kingdom to be rooted up, in order to prevent any future scarcity of corn,—"a measure," continues the Portuguese chronicler,* "which was certainly one of the greatest benefits that this minister ever conferred on his country, and which renders more pardonable the despotism with which he habitually governed."

* Moraes.

It was under the administration of Pombal, that the expulsion of the Jesuits from Brazil was effected,—a measure fatal to the civilization of the Indians, as may be amply educed from Southey's History. But Pombal was not a man for half-measures. Having once adopted a resolution, he was seldom known to swerve from it, whatever might be the dangers or difficulties of carrying it into execution.

Page 74.—*The Buenos Ayreans who had hitherto abstained from all interference, now most vehemently declared against this secession, &c.*

This intimation on the part of the Buenos Ayrean Government was officially notified in the "Argos," a periodical of that city, and gave cause to an angry rejoinder, penned by a Portuguese, resident in the lately incorporated state. Finding, however, no one on the spot who would print his effusion, the writer was compelled to transmit it to Rio de Janeiro, where it was published, along with a postscript, complaining bitterly that the liberty of the press,—that fundamental institution in all free countries,—had no existence in Monte Video.

Page 87.—*It was on the 7th September*, 1822.

It was the intention of the inhabitants of San Paulo to have erected a monument commemorating the event on an acclivity overlooking the Ypiranga, but at the time when the author visited the place in December 1834, the work had proceeded no further than the foundations.

Page 90.—*That queen of the world, as Don Pedro himself styled her.*

In his letter of the 22d January, 1822.

Page 98.—*A pamphlet was then published, denominated an Analysis, &c.*

Barato, formerly a deputy to the Cortes of Lisbon. Of the spirit of this singular treatise, sufficiently rational in the abstract, yet singularly inapplicable in the existing state of intelligence and civilization in Brazil, a very fair idea may be formed from the following extract, worthy, perhaps, of insertion, as in some measure illustrating the democratic spirit which soon after burst out in actual insurrection in the provinces of the North.

" 'With my Imperial munificence!' How is it possible that free and honourable citizens can restrain their indignation, on learning that our Emperor after having summoned a legislative body, has yet continued to make use of the terms '*My Imperial munificence.*' '*The means of remunerating services rendered to me!*' It is necessary that Brazil look to these pretensions and put them all to flight. Whoever renders services, renders them to the nation and never to the Emperor, who is but a part of the nation: all decrees for the recompense of such services ought therefore to emanate from the deputies of the nation. When formerly the chief of a people, through the ignorance and blindness of his subjects and his own usurpation of the unalienable and inprescriptible rights of legislation and representation, actually believed himself the proprietor of

these subjects, as if they had been as many beasts of burden, he might naturally make use of the terms 'my imperial munificence,' but, at present this is not the case; our Emperor is a constitutional Emperor, and not our proprietor. He is a citizen, Emperor through our favour, and chief of the executive power, but not, therefore, authorized to arrogate to himself and usurp such powers as belong to the nation."

"This absolute language clearly indicates the existence of occult intrigues with the end of overruling Congress; and it is on this account, that the public murmurs and apprehends evil from the elections of certain Deputies, who appear to have been designated as fit members for the ensuing legislature, solely for the purpose of introducing into the new Empire the principles of an aristocratical despotism. We are friendly to the Emperor as our Perpetual Defender, and on this account desire that his ministers may not illude and overthrow him by means of their servile adulation. Let us hope that the example of James the Second of England, of Buonaparte Emperor of the French, and of many other such, may open the eyes of Pedro the First, and that he will check these fantasies of his ministers. He ought to look to every thing, and to ponder upon every thing; for the inhabitants of Brazil wish to be well governed, but not to submit to arbitrary domination."

Page 111.—*Under the plea of ill health, the Queen demanded a respite of a few months, &c.*

The letter transmitted by Her Most Faithful Majesty to the King, on this occasion, and subsequently printed, forms one of the most curious tirades against the Cortes,

which have ever come before the public, and evinces in a remarkable manner how materially the ideas of sovereigns and subjects at times differ on questions of Government. Let, however, the reader form his own judgment on the matter.

TRANSLATED COPY.

"SIRE,

"I last night received, by the hand of one of your ministers, the order to depart from your territories. Its purport was to banish me; you have requested me to descend from the throne to which you once elevated me! I pardon you, I compassionate you from my inmost heart. All my contempt, all my hatred shall be reserved for those who surround you, and who have betrayed you. I shall be more free in my banishment than you in your palace. My liberty, at least, will attend me. My soul hath never been enslaved, it hath never humiliated itself in the presence of those rebel vassals who have dared to impose laws on you, and who have endeavoured to compel me to take an oath that my conscience rejected. I have not cared for their threats, I have obeyed the voice of Heaven, which has announced to me that if the epoch of greatness had passed, that of glory was now to begin. The world shall yet exclaim, 'The Queen has preserved unspotted the majesty of the diadem, she has not suffered that its splendour should be dimmed.' 'While those potentates who held alike the sceptre and the sword, have crouched down before the storm, she alone hath remained firm and unquailing.'

"As thy obedient wife, I will obey thee, Sire, but my obedience shall be to thee alone. To your Majesty I will only remark that my infirmities and the rigour of the season, at this moment render my immediate departure

impossible. They have not as yet required that you should pass the sentence of my death. I will go soon, yet whither shall I find a place of rest? whither, alas! shall I direct my steps? My country, our country is a prey to the spirit of revolutions: my brother, like you, is a crowned captive! In vain will be the tears of his young and beautiful bride to share her grief with mine in some kind solitude! Ye shall not then deny me leave to take my daughters with me. Among the laws that ye have imposed, there is none that separates a parent from her children; and though the rights of a Queen may be despised, surely some regard will be paid to those of a mother. With the arrival of spring I will quit these states, this land wherein I have reigned, and in which I have done some good. I will take part in the perils of my brother, and tell him that they can never vanquish me! I am a banished woman, but my conscience is unstained, for I have ever remembered the blood that runs in my veins. Farewell, Sire! I leave you old, sick and on a vacillating throne, and extreme indeed is the grief which I experience in being thus compelled to forsake you. Your son (Don Miguel) is absent from you. The ill-intentioned beings by whom you are surrounded, have kept him apart from you, even with more care than from his mother. May He who reigneth over kings watch over you, and confound the machinations of your enemies! Wherever the wife whom you thus banish from you may go, she will always pray for you. She will ever supplicate from God a long life for you, and peace and prosperity for the land whence she is banished.

"THE QUEEN."

Donna Carlotta was not an admirer of the constitutional regimen, nor were some other individuals of the same

august House of Braganza. Donna Maria Benedicta, the aunt of Don João the Sixth, and the sister to the Dowager Queen, a lady who had accompanied the Royal Family in their emigration to Brazil, was so extremely irritated on hearing of the proclamation of the Constitutional Government in Portugal, that she immediately summoned all her domestics into the drawing-room, crying out at the same time with mock humility, "Be seated, ladies and gentlemen, pray be seated, you are at present the governors of the world, if you want any thing, command me; I am here at your orders." ("*Assentem-se meus Senhores, assentem-se, vos sois agora que governais o mundo, —de querem alguma cousa, mandem-me, que aqui estou as suas ordens.*")

Unlike, however, Donna Carlotta, Donna Benedicta was a lady of exemplary private character. Her talents were also of a superior order, a circumstance tending to render the transition to entire nullity more mortifying. As to such of the family as had hitherto been noted only for their incapacity, the privation was less, and it cannot therefore be surprising that they should have borne the change with more equanimity.

Page 138.—*A special commission or council of state, consisting, &c.*

The members of this Council were the following individuals:—

† João Severiano Maciel da Costa	Marquis de Queluz
* Luiz Jozé de Carvalho e Mello	Viscount de Cachoeira
* Clemente Ferreira França	Marquis de Nazareth

Those marked * dead;—† dead since the revolution of 1831.

Marianno Jozé Pereira de Fonseca	Marquis de Maricá
*João Gomez de Silveira Mendonça	Count de Fanado
Francisco Villela Barboza	Marquis de Paranagôa
† Barão de Santo Amaro	Marq. de Santo Amaro
Antonio Luiz Pereira da Cunha	Marquis de Inhambupe
Manoel Jacinto Nogueira da Gama	Marquis de Baependy
Joze Joaquim Carneiro de Campos	Marquis de Caravellas

The entire number also took their seats as Senators, after being of course nominated in the triple list.

In the place of the three first who died were substituted the

Count de Valença,
Viscount de Saõ Leopoldo,
Marquis de Saõ João de Palma.

Several of their number were noted for the excellence of their private characters; and one or two, as for instance, Pereira de Fonseca, and Carneiro de Campos, for the extent of their erudition. As a body, however, they were but ill qualified for the task to which they were appointed. Fortunately Carneiro de Campos was intrusted with the drawing up of the constitution, and to this individual is Brazil principally indebted for a number of the most liberal provisions of the code,—provisions which he insisted on introducing in opposition to the wishes of many of his colleagues.

On the other hand, Clemente Ferreira França was about the most obsequious, abject, and time-serving of the entire council. He, however, defended himself from the charge with warmth. "My colleagues (observed he) have not hesitated to tax me with servility, but the charge is utterly unfounded. I am not one whit more servile than they are, but the fact is, I am less hypocritical."

On another occasion, when it was debated in the Senate whether the members of this body should rise, on the entrance of His Imperial Majesty, the Marquis (for by this

time he had been created a Marquis) proposed that they should rise and advance *two steps*. The fairest estimate of the united talents of the Council may, however, be derived from the subsequent history of the administration.

Page 187.—*He, nevertheless, proceeded directly to Portsmouth, &c.*

The plea alleged by Lord Cochrane, in his official despatch to the Brazilian Government, for thus returning to England was, that his top-masts sprung when in about 20° north latitude: and that he put into Portsmouth, as the nearest port to refit, an allegation which was at least founded on fact, and which (considering that he was to the leeward of Cape S. Roque), and had a very strong current running against him, would, under any circumstances, warrant the step.

Page 200.—*A lady of the name of Castro, to whom, &c.*

Often sarcastically denominated the Nova Castro, a *sobriquet*, taken from the title of one of the most popular dramas of the Portuguese theatre. The tragical story of Inez de Castro, the beautiful but unfortunate bride of Don Pedro the First, of Portugal, has been selected as the theme of two different dramas,* of which the latest written has, by way of contra-distinction, been termed the *Nova*, or *New Castro*, and this somewhat singular appellation

* The first written by the celebrated Antonio Ferreira.

was, from an assumed parity of circumstance, maliciously applied to the Marchioness de Santos. On a certain occasion, the directors of an amateur theatre having refused to admit her ladyship to their representations, on the ground of her character not being sufficiently spotless, an order was immediately issued, whereby the theatre was closed and the directors indicted, on the ground that as their statutes had never been submitted to the sanction of the Government, they were liable to the penalties imposed by law on all secret societies. The prosecution was afterwards abandoned; but the theatre was not permitted to be re-opened. "Pray," inquired an individual, unacquainted with the facts of the case, "what was the reason for which your theatre was so suddenly closed?" "Why," replied the director interrogated, "for no other earthly reason, that I can discover, except that we had refused to admit the Nova Castro on our list."

Page 220.—*Having on this day discovered the Imperial army, &c.*

In a manuscript account of this engagement, drawn up by the individual who officiated as aide-de-camp to Lavalleja, on this occasion, and subsequently communicated to the author, the writer observes: "The enemy awaited us with firmness, and reserved their fire until we were within the distance of twenty-five paces. Lavalleja's body of horse, however, charged them with such impetuosity, that their ranks were broken ere they could draw their sabres, and but few of their number were sufficiently fortunate to find safety in flight." Altogether the number of Brazilians killed and wounded is stated at near one thousand: that of

prisoners at upwards of seven hundred. The loss of the Gauchos was only two hundred altogether, killed and wounded.

Page 228.—*The Diario Fluminense assailed him as an anarchist, &c.*

Chapuis appears to have anticipated this attack. "It may be asked (remarked he in his preface to the reflections) who authorised me to discuss and to analyze the acts of the government? The answer is obvious. As a citizen of the world, and not as the inhabitant of this or that spot of earth, I voluntarily undertake to publish the result of my reflections on the present relations of the Empire of Brazil in connexion with the Kingdom of Portugal. The task I impose on myself is a patriotic one, and I will execute it with the Constitution of the Empire in my hand. This alike instructs me in my rights and in my duties; I will not abuse the first, neither will I exceed the second: thus, I shall have nothing to fear." The result, however, proved that his opinions in this last respect were erroneous.

Page 229.—*Misled by a decree of the minister of the empire.*

The decree alluded to may be quoted as worthy of interest.

TRANSLATED COPY.

His Majesty having inspected the despatch of the President of Maranham, dated on the 4th June, in this year,

where is related the proceeding adopted towards João Antonio Garçia de Abranches, editor of the periodical entitled the "Censor," he being violently compelled to embark for Lisbon, and this incompetent and absolute measure being by no means justified by the exposition in the above mentioned despatch, of the nature of the doctrines published in that periodical, although tending to overthrow the established order of affairs; and even less by the extravagant motive that the said editor attacked the conduct of the Marquis de Maranham, as though it were prohibited by law to censure him: His Majesty has deemed fit to disapprove of this unjust and arbitrary act, which discovers, on the part of the individual who put it in force, either a perfect ignorance of the legal measures applicable in such cases, or a determination to overthrow the rights guaranteed by the constitution; and he commands the Secretary of State for the affairs of the Empire to make this known to the said President, and to reprove him severely for having, in this transaction, acted in a manner which could only be approved of by a government where *will* has the precedence over law.

"Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 3rd September, 1835.

"(Signed) Estevaõ Ribeiro de Rezende."

It had been repeatedly urged to Chapuis that this reproof of the President of Maranham had been issued solely in consequence of the coalition existing between Ministers and the Portuguese party, and not from any real regard for the constitutional doctrines avowed. This assumption he however refused to credit. He even quoted the foregoing decree triumphantly in the first number of the "Verdadeiro Liberal."

Page 285.—*To such a pitch had this system been carried, &c.*

Discouraging as this representation may appear, it is an undisputed fact that, on the whole, the condition of the slave population in the country is much less onerous than in the cities. On the plantations (unless an estate should happen to change hands) they become virtually prædial slaves, and their condition will be found to assimilate, in many respects, to that of the Russian Serf. Both in the cities and on the plantations they are universally baptized, and among the old Portuguese families they are instructed in the external ceremonies and leading dogmas of the Catholic religion.

Should the descendants of the existing race obtain their liberty in the same *gradual* manner in which the peasantry of Europe have obtained the *gradual* relaxation of the feudal system, important advantages must necessarily accrue both to Brazil and to the class in question. In case, however, of either insurrection or of any injudicious interference on the part of foreign nations, the reverse would, in all probability, ensue. Even if it were possible that a pacific liberation could instantaneously be effected throughout Brazil, the newly constituted freemen would be found so utterly unfit for the exercise of civil privileges, that anarchy would inevitably and immediately ensue; an absolute government would take the place of the present constitutional one, and the entire association would, in all probability, retrograde.

It is perfectly correct that a servile war has been often prognosticated to Brazil, but, in the opinion of the writer, with but little plausibility. According to an *approximation* made soon after the revolution in 1831, (for there is

no correct census,) the free population in the provinces is estimated as follows:—

Rio Grande,	160,000	souls.
Santa Catharina,	35,000	
Rio de Janeiro,	320,000	Including the District of Campols
S. Paulo,	270,000	
Minas,	600,000	
Goyaz,	50,000	
Matto Grosso,	30,000	
Espirito Santo,	40,000	
Bahia,	400,000	
Sergipe,	50,000	
Alagoas,	100,000	
Pernambuco,	400,000	
Parahiba,	100,000	
Rio Grande de Norte,	30,000	
Ceará,	150,000	
Piauhy,	70,000	
Maranhaõ,	120,000	
Pará,	110,000	
*	3,035,000	

And the slave population was, at the same time, computed at about two millions. In the principal cities, Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, and Pernambuco, the slaves preponderate decidedly in number over the freemen; but there are some provinces tolerably populous, where the bulk of the population consists almost exclusively of free people. In Ceará, where the inhabitants are stated at one hundred and fifty thousand, there are not ten thousand slaves, and in Rio Grande of the South, the proportion is about the same,

* See Aurora, 22d June, 1831.

In general there is but little feeling of fraternity amongst the negroes; except in Bahia, where they are all of one nation, inhabitants originally of the coast of Mina, who are at once the most intelligent and the most athletic race hitherto imported into Brazil. Here many revolts have taken, and will, in all probability continue to take place; but it does not follow, on this account, that the same spirit will extend itself throughout the country. In the other provinces the variety of nations is so great, and the plantations are situated so far apart, that any attempts at a general insurrection must prove altogether nugatory. The probabilities of this will also be diminished by the gradual amelioration in the condition of the slaves, the Brazilians being almost universally far less severe task-masters than their predecessors the Portuguese.

The nations principally imported into Rio, previous to the cessation of the traffic, are Cabindas, (including under this name Congos of all the various tribes as far as Angola), Benguelas, Angolas, Mozambiques, Inhambanes, Quilimanes, and Caçanges. Of these the Cabindas and other nations from the Western coast are generally tattooed; those from the Eastern coast are mostly distinguished by punctures, whereby the skin is raised in a peculiar manner.

By virtue of a law passed during the session of 1831, the forfeiture of both ship and cargo is entailed on all found guilty of continuing the importation; yet, a large contraband traffic is still carried on in many instances through the connivance of the local authorities, who, being elected on the spot of their jurisdiction, are but too often imbued alike with the prejudices and short-sightedness of their constituents.

It is, however, a gratifying circumstance to the friends of humanity, that the leaders of public opinion in the Metropolis, to whatever party they may have happened to be-

long, have been almost unanimous in their reprobation of the traffic in question. Jozé Bonifacio had, at the period of his banishment in 1823, already drawn up a memorial, or rather an essay, on the topic, which it was his intention to lay before the Constituent Assembly, with the end of inducing them to take some prohibitory measures.

Since this period all the leading journalists, at the head of whom may be placed Evaristo Ferreira de Veiga, have adopted similar views, and the "Sociedade Defensora" of Rio de Janeiro, the most influential patriotic association in Brazil, in the month of February, 1834, offered a premium of Rs.400$\|$000, to the individual who should produce the best analytical memoir on the subject. As yet, it must be acknowledged, that these philanthropic ideas are by no means generalized, yet they are day by day making progress.

It is also worthy of note, that in Brazil, where the political association is composed of such heterogeneous materials, and where honours are open to all alike, distinctions of caste have necessarily less weight than in any other civilized country. Here, since the first revolution in 1822, men of colour have been admitted to the highest offices in the State. Several of the Deputies are of mixed blood, and in one or two instances, individuals who bear in their physiognomy indubitable traces of a similar origin, have been found even in the Cabinet.

Page 286. — *Concerning the augmentation of the sum allotted to the Emperor, &c.*

In the remarks of Vergueiro, one of the Members who voted in opposition to this measure, the stipend allotted to the King of England, was instanced as absorbing only one

fiftieth part of the revenue; that of the King of France one thirty-sixth; and that allotted to Don Pedro, in 1826, (400 contos), one thirty-fourth, the entire revenue of Brazil being estimated at 34 millions of cruzades, or 13.600 contos.

Page 289.—*The result was a decision on the part of the House, that a force of thirty thousand men, the number at present authorized, &c.*

In this number the militia were not included. According to the report of the Minister of War, the army of Brazil at this period consisted of 27,815 regular troops, and in addition to these, there were 99,773 militia and "ordinanças," altogether 127,588 men.

Page 290.—*But with the exception of a few confirmed royalists and the Marchioness de Santos, &c.*

The following document, which is extracted from the columns of the "Diario Fluminense," may perhaps prove an object of curiosity to the European reader:—

TRANSLATED COPY.

"Articles of Office."

Department of Finance.

"Most Illustrious and Excellent Lady,"

"I conveyed to the august presence of H. M. the Emperor, our Master, the letter which your Excellency ad-

dressed to him, in which your Excellency offers towards the war in the South, a conto of reis gratuitously, and forty milreis as a monthly loan, without any interest, as long as the war continues; and all which you possess, in case it be necessary to the State. H. I. M. orders me to thank you especially for this trait of your distinguished patriotism; and in order to make known more generally the estimation with which he regards the patriotic proceeding of your Excellency, particularly on account of your Excellency being the first Brazilian lady who has thus acted, he has ordered me, that along with this letter, I should also cause that which your Excellency addressed to his Imperial person, to be published in this journal.

"May God guard your Excellency.

"MARQUIS DE QUELUZ.

"Palace, 17th October, 1827.

"To the Marchioness de Santos.

"SIRE,—As a Brazilian, and an inhabitant of San Paulo, and, consequently, a friend of my country, of its honour, and of the glory and august person of your Imperial Majesty, to whom I owe all my fortune, I come before the throne of your Imperial Majesty, to offer gratuitously a conto of reis for the war in the South, and forty milreis monthly, as a loan, for the same object, without any interest, following in this step the generous example given by your Imperial Majesty. My sex does not permit me to offer also my person, but your Imperial Majesty may count on all I possess in the ultimate necessities of the State.

"May God guard and bless the days of your Imperial Majesty, as I and all Brazilians have need. I am, Sire, the very faithful, grateful, and obliged subject of your Imperial Majesty,

"MARCHIONESS DE SANTOS.

"To H. I. M. Don Pedro 1st."

END OF VOL. I.

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